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THE

SCOTTISH GAËL;

OR,

Celtic Manners,

AS PRESERVED AMONG THE HIGHLANDE

BEING AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE

INHABITANTS, ANTIQUITIES, AND NATIONAL PECULIARITIE

OF SCOTLAND;

MORE PARTICULARLY OF THE NORTHERN, OR GAËLIC PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, WHERE SINGULAR HABITS OF THE ABORIGINAL CELTS ARE MOST TENACIOUSLY RETAINED.

By JAMES LOGAN,

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

"The most interesting and important of all history is the history of manners."

WARTON.

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VOLUME I.

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TO

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

WILLIAM IV.,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

&c. &c. &c.

SIRE,

It is with the deepest gratitude for so distinguished an honour, that I presume to lay these Researches at Your Majesty's feet.

The Work relates to a people who have greatly contributed to raise the renown of Your Majesty's arms to the pre-eminence they have attained. The history and character of that people, therefore, deserve the attention of every Patriot; and your subjects, Sire, feel a just pride in being able to call your Majesty a Patriot King.

That Your Majesty's reign may be long and happy, must be the ardent wish of every Briton; and I can say for my countrymen, in particular, that none are more devotedly attached to Your Majesty's Person and Family; and that no portion of Your Majesty's Subjects would more cheerfully venture their lives for the honour and defence of their beloved Sovereign, and for the support of the Constitution under which they enjoy so many blessings. For myself, I rejoice in being so highly favoured as to be graciously permitted this public opportunity of expressing the profound respect with which

I am,

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most devoted and most humble

Subject and Servant,

JAMES LOGAN.

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INTRODUCTION.

OBJECT OF THE PRESENT WORK, AND ACCOUNT OF ITS FORMATION, WITH SOME NOTICE OF ANCIENT HISTORICAL ANNALS, &c.

THE Scots' Highlanders are the unmixed descendants of the Celts, who were the aboriginal inhabitants of Europe, and the first known colonists of Britain. Slowly following the progress of refinement, and assimilating with their neighbours, it may soon be matter of unavailing regret, that their language, their singular manners, and peculiar customs, will have become extinct and unknown, save in the traditions of the people, or the partial records of the historian.

This race, which for so many ages preserved inviolate its Celtic principles and original habits, has already yielded to the powerful advance of modern civilization, and has apparently lost more of its distinctive features within the last century, than during all the previous lapse of time, from its first settlement in Britain. Tenaciously retaining their primitive language, social institutions, and established usages, and inhabiting a romantic and picturesque country, in which they so long preserved their independence, the Gaël and their territories have become the objects of much curiosity, and the prominent place which they occupy in the national annals, heightens the interest which Scotland has so much excited.

After the union of the two kingdoms there was, indeed a long period of indifference towards this country, and of consequent ignorance of its moral and political state, but emerging from this situation of apparent insignificance, it was destined to attract peculiar regard, and every thing relating to it became an object of the liveliest attention. Various causes contributed to effect this change. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 forced on government the necessity of paying more attention to this part of the kingdom, more particularly to the Highlands, where the consequences of the battle of Culloden proved that, even at that late period, the Gaël were deemed unworthy of regard, as members of the empire, no laws being thought applicable to them on the suppression of the rebellion, b[illegible] those which were given by a brigade.[a] It was soon, ho[illegible] ever, perceived, that from the mountains of Scotland c[illegible] be drawn an inexhaustible supply of the best soldier[illegible] Europe, and government quickly availed itself of a resou[illegible] so invaluable. Those who represented the exiled chiefs from the period of the forfeiture of their estates, until the act of grace restored their lands, and permitted them to return to their country, with that hereditary authority, which could not, while the spirit of clanship animated the people, be dissolved or impaired, many of them, without any other income than what was supplied by the benevolence of the clan, were able to raise numerous battalions, with whom they gloriously fought in support of that constitution which a principle of honour, mistaken loyalty, and the intrigues of France, had so lately led them to endeavour to subvert.

The most interesting part of the Scots' nation is the Highlanders, the descendants of the aboriginal Celts, who signalised themselves by a determined and effectual resistance, to the utmost efforts of the Romans, who had sub-

[a] Culloden Papers.

dued the inhabitants of the Southern provinces. The nature of their country, wild and mountainous, protected by natural bulwarks, within which, fear and prudence would equally prevent intrusion, and which opposing a barrier to free communication with other parts, served to preserve them for so many ages as a distinct and independent people. Their simple patriarchal manners and government did not lead to much intercourse with strangers, and, except cattle, there was little produce of their country, the disposal of which would have brought them into contact with others. Their habits led to no wants which could not be supplied within themselves. The sea, and numerous lakes and rivers, afforded an abundance of fish, the woods and mountains a variety of fowl and venison, and those who attempted agriculture found the valleys highly productive. Thus secluded, the traditions and songs celebrated the exploits of their native nation, and the locality of description fostered the spirit of independence, the lofty notions of their own unconquered race, and jealous pride of ancestry, so remarkable in the Highlanders. Hence they tenaciously preserved their primitive institutions, their costume, language, poetry, music, &c., and remained for many ages little known to the rest of the kingdom. The more Southern Scots were, indeed, aware of their existence. The troops and hosts of hardy warriors that often swelled the armies of the king, and were sometimes brought down in hostility to his authority, apprised their countrymen that they were a considerable people. The fierce and overwhelming forays that necessity or revenge impelled them to make on the plains, informed their Lowland neighbours, in a more unpleasant way, of their vicinity to powerful tribes of different habits, and living under peculiar laws. The civil wars which they had at different times maintained on behalf of the Stewarts, kept alive the recollection of their existence, but it was not

until after the remarkable events of 1745-6, that the Northern part of Britain became an object of serious attention to the ministry, and of much curiosity to all. This interest, at first chiefly arising from political causes, and the situation of the country, was not at that time well calculated to produce a favourable or unprejudiced view. The Highlanders were even at this period deemed little better than savages. The moderation and orderly conduct of the army of Prince Charles during its success, and the bravery and humanity displayed throughout the affair, that might have vindicated their character from such injustice, were forgotten in the stigma of audacious rebellion. The consequent abolition of the system of government so conducive to their independence, brought them under more particular notice and observation. The suppression of heretable jurisdictions, soon previous formation of the military roads, and acts for disarming the people and discharging the services of watching, warding, hosting, and hunting, opened the Highlands to the investigation of the curious, and broke down the chief obstacle to the mixture of the inhabitants in other society—the safeguard against the intrusion of strangers, and the great protection for their primitive simplicity of character.

The Gaël, who had before this time been so little known, even to many of the more Southern Lowlanders, leaving their native hills, diffused a more intimate knowledge of themselves and their country, and by their abilities displayed in the various situations of life, have shewn themselves equal to the natives of any portion of the kingdom, and worthy of the respectable station which they have acquired in society. With the loss of much of their distinctive character, they have had but too many opportunities of shewing that their military ardour and prowess are yet unimpaired. All Europe has admired the achievements of

the Scots' troops, and in the late war they "covered themselves with glory."

The history and antiquities of so singular a people opened a copious source of speculation and literary discussion, and the subject could not fail to be generally interesting. The publication of several works gave a stimulus to research, and excited the critical acumen of many writers. The proud and high-minded Highlanders repelled with indignation the slights they received, and the attacks that were so unceremoniously made upon almost every thing which they valued as national. Unfortunately, an acrimonious spirit in which some writers indulged begat an animosity but ill suited to calm inquiry. Abuse and recrimination took the place of serious investigation. The elucidation of historical truth was either altogether put aside, or made subservient to the defeat of an opponent, by turning his cause into ridicule; and thus both parties have sacrificed much of the weight that would otherwise have attached to their arguments. While facts were obscured or perverted, error and fiction accumulated, and impartial judgment and unbiassed decision were thereby prevented. Those works were more fitted for the perusal of the antiquary than the amusement of the general reader; but a powerful stimulus to the curiosity concerning Scotland has been given by the writings of Sir Walter Scott, one of the most illustrious of her sons, whose works have indeed produced a new era in literature. Caledonia has offered an ample field for the creations of poetry and romance, and by interweaving historical personages and events with the details of fictitious narrative, the gifted author has, in his combinations, preserved with much fidelity the truth of nature, and the people, thus pourtrayed by the magic pencil of genius, are presented under that view which most strikingly displays their national character. Whilst those and other volumes almost equally

fascinating, illustrate Scotish life and history, exhibit the influence of peculiar institutions, and delineate the manners of the inhabitants, they are the most amusing compositions of the age, and by the varied beauties of their recitals, have charmed civilized society throughout the globe. The sublime and pathetic remains of Ossian and other bards display the ancient Gaël in the most imposing colours, and draw forth our admiration by the dignity of their style, and the grandeur of their imagery. Ramsay, Burns, and other poets, embellish rural life, and raise our ideas of the talents and intelligence of the Scotish peasantry, but "the wizard of the north" has environed his subject with a halo of romantic glory, brightening the page of history, and rousing an enthusiastic attention to all that relates to this part of the island. In thus, however, expressing what all must feel, it is necessary to observe that novels of this class are not to be received as genuine history; they are not meant for the communication of strict truth, and the remark is only excited by noticing the authority which has been conceded to this class of composition. Highly as their authors, especially the writer above-mentioned, are to be admired, and deeply versed as they undoubtedly are, in all departments of Scotish history, they are, nevertheless, obliged to sacrifice truth for the sake of effect, for which, at the same time, they are not to be censured. Sir Walter, in his various publications, has brought into view many of the ancient customs of the Scots, several of which have long been peculiar to the Highlanders; and the notes to his poetical works, and the recent illustrations of his prose writings, contain the history and description of many curious observances, as well as authentic details of interesting transactions. The present volumes, by elucidating in the sober language of history those manners so beautifully blended with fiction by the novelists, and those circumstances which

are introduced with so much effect, and so materially add to the interest with which their works are read, afford some claim to the consideration of the public.

The numerous volumes extant on Scotish history and antiquities may appear to render the present undertaking superfluous, but no publication on the same extensive plan has yet appeared. In a general history particular information cannot be given, and should not be expected—topographical works are partial—tours and essays are superficial—and controversial writings, of which the Northern part of the island has been a fertile source, are still less popular, and are often less satisfactory in every respect than the others.

Dr. Mac Pherson, in his "Dissertations," had a similar view to that which led to the production of this work; but his labours are limited, and he chiefly compares the Gaëlic customs with those of the Germans. My endeavour has been to illustrate, with impartiality, the manners of the Celtic race, to trace the language, the religion, form of government, and peculiar usages of the Scots to their origin; to shew their identity with those of the aborigines of Britain, and their resemblance to those of the remaining branches of the Celtic race, and thence to prove their own descent, and the derivation of the singular manners which so long distinguished them, and to which they yet fondly cling. That all these emanated from the primitive inhabitants of Europe, I trust will be satisfactorily shewn. It is justly observed by Dr. Henry, of the Gauls and Britons, that "whatever is said of the persons, manners, and customs of the one, may be applied to the other with little variation and few exceptions."

I am aware that some of the subjects on which I have ventured to write have been bones of contention between the learned; I have no wish to increase the list of dispu-

tants, and should not have obtruded my opinions, opposed, as they sometimes are, to those of others, if I could have withheld them with justice to my design. My reasoning may not always be satisfactory, but I hope it is not intemperate, and can aver that it is the result of long consideration and careful investigation. Most of the Scots[a] writers have unfortunately used their pens under feelings of heat and indignation, either as the prejudiced but zealous champions of Celtic, Gothic, Irish, or Saxon colonization,—the strenuous advocates and pertinacious opponents of royal and noble genealogies, or the redoubted vindicators and assailants of national independence and ancient glory; yet, whatever warmth may be displayed by individuals, the researches of many in different departments have brought forward and preserved much matter, both curious and important. Numerous local historians, poets, and tourists, have recorded interesting facts, and many literary societies have elucidated national history by their own labours, and by their exertions to promote all kinds of research. Of these, and all other accessible sources of information, I have availed myself; in doing which, and in making personal investigations and inspections of existing remains in both countries, I have spent some years of unwearied labour, and I have been enabled to accomplish this undertaking, if not in a manner so complete as I could wish, yet in a style which may evince my desire to be as correct and satisfactory as possible.[b]

The labour attending the research necessary for the proper execution of a work of so comprehensive a nature as

[b] Many drawings of Scotish antiquities and accompanying observations have been honoured by the notice of different Societies, who have, in several cases, published them in the volumes of their Transactions, the fidelity of the sketches having been acknowledged by members who had themselves seen the objects.

this, can only be appreciated by those who have been engaged in a similar pursuit. The variety of authorities which I have consulted is indicated by the quotations and references, but numerous works were necessarily perused without obtaining any thing to repay the trouble.

The Celtic race were scarcely less celebrated for their acquirements in arts than for proficiency in military tactics. The studies of all laudable sciences, says Marcellinus, flourished highly in Gaul, being strictly cultivated by the sacred order of Eubages, Bards, and Druids. The former, searching into nature's highest altitude, endeavoured to explain its operations; and the Druids, of a more refined imagination, were addicted wholly to questions of deep and hidden matters. The Celts, as will be seen throughout the present work, were by no means barbarous, in the common acceptation of the word, but were the inventors of numerous useful and ingenious contrivances, for which surrounding nations were indebted to them. "I am tired," says a learned writer on the language of this people, "of always hearing the Romans quoted, when the commencement of our civilization is spoken of; while nothing is said of our obligations to the Celts. It was not the Latins, it was the Gauls who were our first instructors."[c] Some of the ancients had the candour to make the same confession. Aristotle declared that philosophy was derived by the Greeks from the Gauls, and not imparted to them.

So far is it from true that the Celtæ were "totally unable to raise themselves in the scale of society," as the author of the "Enquiry" boldly asserts, that numerous individuals obtained high and well deserved honours in the Roman empire. The race was, in fact, remarkable for

[c] Julius Liechtlen.

superiority of mental endowments, which is proved by the list of celebrated individuals of Celtic origin. Spain alone produced Seneca, Lucan, Collumella, Martial, Quintillian, &c. whilst the Egyptians and other people, subjected by the Romans, furnished none of any note. The Gauls were truly "of sharp wit and apt to learn," and they were even excelled by the Britons,[d] the knowledge of whose priesthood was so profound, that the youth of the continent came hither to study and complete their education, by a course of no less than twenty years' probation. This learning was not confined to the Southern tribes, but equally pervaded those of the North. Coil, surnamed Sylvius Bonus, maintained a poetical correspondence with Ausonius. Celestius, Pelagius, St. Patrick, and others, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, were Scotsmen, not to mention those who are believed to have lived about the period of the Roman invasion, and even before that event, if we can credit Bale, Leland, Dempster, &c.

In the reign of Charlemagne the Scots were renowned on the continent, their learning and probity recommending them to situations of trust and honour. Hericus, in his Life of St. Cæsar, dedicated to this prince, says, the whole Scotish nation, almost "despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our country with a numerous train of philosophers." The professors of Paris and Padua were then Scotsmen, and Charles's preceptor, Alcuin, is also believed to have been one. Paulus Æmilius, speaking of Charlemagne, says he bestowed the honours and magistracies of the nation especially upon the Scots, whom he greatly esteemed for their fidelity and valour; and Eginhart writes, that the kings of Scotland were much devoted to him, which their letters to him, then extant, confirmed.[e] Whether he sent to

[d] Tacitus' Life of Agricola, c. xxi.

[e] Vita et Gestæ Karoli Magni, p. 138, ed. Francofurti.

King Achadh, or Achaius, requesting the assistance of learned men, as some affirm, it may be immaterial to inquire, but that a friendship subsisted between the two nations is certain; and Charles himself, in a mandate concerning the Scots' church of Honaugia, speaks of them as having obtained the particular favour and protection of the kings of France before his reign. The Scots were indeed most zealous and indefatigable missionaries, and taught the Christian religion to several nations, founding many churches and religious houses in Germany, France, and Italy itself, distinguishing themselves by their piety, and a strict adherence to the primitive rites from which the church of Rome had departed.

Lest I should be classed with those vain and prejudiced Scotsmen, who are represented as maintaining what is called the national honour, against all reason and historical facts, fable and conjecture being thought the only support for their assertions, it may be well to adduce some proofs, in order to shew that Scotland must have possessed very ancient documents, and men well qualified, as well as solicitous, to frame and preserve such records. The violent heat—nay, rage, with which many Scots' antiquaries have vindicated the former glories of their country, has often subjected them to reproach and ridicule, and has unfortunately detracted from the merit of their works.

It is generally believed that the Druids committed nothing to writing, and that, in fact, their profession forbade the use of letters; but while this is true, as far as respects their mythology and religious rites, there is every reason to believe that they composed books or tracts on other subjects. The bards, who were the professors and conservators of history, appear to have been under no restraint in committing their particular knowledge to writing; and it is reported that collections of the Brehon laws of high anti-

quity, and in their peculiar law language, still exist. At Ii, or Iona, the chief seat of the Druidical order in Scotland, Columba is said to have burned a heap of their books; and in Ireland, St. Patrick was no less severe, committing, according to the Leccan records, no less than 180 tracts to the flames. The assertion so often repeated in the Ossianic controversy, that no Gaëlic MSS. were in existence, was generally believed until the investigations of the Highland Society proved its falsity. If the reader consult the last Chapter of this work, he will be satisfied that the Scots had the use of letters in the most early ages; but as it seems here necessary, to shew what reliance may be placed on the statements which are subsequently introduced, and to vindicate the authenticity of several of the authorities which it has been necessary to quote, some account of the early state of literature in the British Isles shall be given.

The Bards occasionally wrote in the first ages of Christianity, but we are told they did not make it a practice to commit their poems to literary record before the fifth century, and the distractions which so long afflicted the country occasioned the loss, either by destruction or removal, of most of their productions; and hence Gildas, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century, for want of those "records left by his own countrymen, which were either destroyed by the enemy at home, or carried by exiles into other parts," was obliged to apply for the most part to foreign writers. Nennius, who flourished in 858, tells us he compiled his history "from the Roman annals, the chronicles of the holy fathers, and the writings of the Scots and English; also from the traditions of the elders, which, by many learned men and librarians, had been reduced to writing, but either from frequent deaths, or the devastations of war, were then left in a decayed and confused condition."

The remains of British history were collected by Walter

Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, and were finally translated, interpolated, and published by Geoffry of Monmouth. The author of the Life of Ninian, Bishop of Galloway, says he made use of a book, "De vita et miraculis ejus, barbaria Scriptus;" and the Chronicon Rhythmicum, a Scotish record, was copied from "Chronica Scripta." The ancient tract entitled "De situ Albaniæ," quotes British histories and chronicles, and acts and annals of the Scots and Picts. The original register of St. Andrews also quoted Pictish books; yet Pinkerton maintains that those people did not know the use of letters, his proof being that all their churchmen and men of learning were either Welsh or Scots. It is sufficient evidence that the Picts were not thus illiterate, could nothing else be advanced, than that Nechtan, one of their kings, wrote to Ceolfrid, Abbat of Wearmouth, in 715, and translated his long letter into the Pictish language; and he was accustomed, we are told, to peruse and meditate on the Scriptures. A fragment of Strathclyde Gaëlic, which Lhuyd found, and pronounced of the sixth century, shews that the people of that district were equally educated with their neighbours. Adomnan's Life of Columba was first written in Gaëlic, as were most of the books known to have been preserved at Iona, several of which, in 1525, were removed to Aberdeen, but others were seen torn up for snuff paper at Inverary.

The existence of the historian Veremundus, who has been placed in the list of fabulous authorities by most writers, is ably vindicated in a work by Mr. Tytler. That he and others composed tracts on the national history is certain, if quotations from their writings, and allusions to them by early chroniclers, is a valid proof. To find historians, therefore, who wrote 1200 or 1400 years ago referring to old records in the same terms now applied to their

own works, surely proves the antiquity of writing. To what extent the ancient documents thus referred to may have been, cannot now be ascertained. John Fordun, in the middle of the 14th century, mentions old chronicles and historical annals which he had consulted. It is, indeed, apparent that he transcribed from authentic materials, and the only desideratum is to know their extent and antiquity.

The general belief has always been that our ancient records were destroyed by Edward I. of England, but some late writers have opposed this opinion, denying the existence of such documents, and alleging that all those he carried away were returned after they had been examined for the purpose of supporting that king's pretended claim to the supremacy of Scotland. Chalmers says, "he did not destroy those documents, but is answerable for all the derangement and loss they sustained;" but his intentions respecting the Scotish crown, and conduct towards the country, justify a strong suspicion that no record inimical to his object was by any means likely to be preserved or restored. Sir George Mac Kenzie has observed that Edward assuredly did not return all the documents he had carried off, giving an instance in the release granted by Richard I. to William, which Rymer has published.

The destruction of national archives by the ravages of war and civil dissensions has been lamentable. The Reformation was peculiarly fatal to those preserved in religious houses. Duplicates of the renunciation by Edward III. of all claim to the sovereignty of Scotland, were deposited in each of the cathedrals, and of those only the one kept at Glasgow was saved.

The picturesque and singular dress of the Highlanders has been an object of particular remark. To those who seem to have assailed the antiquity of every thing peculiar to this people, more from sentiments of individual aversion

than from a spirit of candour or love of truth, it has offered a prominent mark for the display of anti-Celtic feeling. The garb is, in the following pages, described and illustrated in all its varieties, as now and formerly worn; and while the arguments of those who assert its recent adoption are overthrown, the constant use of the Breacan-feile and Feile-beag will be proved from documents of unquestionable authenticity. It will be shewn that the ambiguous terms in which this unique and graceful costume has been spoken of, cannot be applied to any other habit, and that the writers were at a loss to describe a dress so different from all others, and so difficult to be comprehended by those who only saw it at a distance, and were ignorant of its arrangement. This will appear the less strange when so few in the present day, after it has become in some degree familiar even to the inhabitants of "Cockaigne," understand its proper composition; and this not excepting many of the natives of Scotland itself. While, however, some authors have written in ignorance, many have done so from a feeling of prejudice and silly jealousy of the Scotish mountaineers; but it will be proved that this primitive costume, so well suited to the warrior, so well adapted for the avocations of the hunter and shepherd, has not only been the invariable dress of the Highlanders from time immemorial, but is to be derived from the most remote antiquity; and that neither their clothing, arms, language, poetry, nor music, has been adopted from any nation whatever, but received from the primæval people whence they sprang. Their country and pursuits rendering the belted plaid and kilt the most convenient apparel, they were not likely to lay it aside for any other. It is still less probable, that had the Trius been worn before the adoption of the Feile-beag, the inhabitants of a cold climate would have denuded themselves of so essential a part of the dress

of all other nations. Nor would a people so strongly attached to their primitive customs, and opposed to change, have become so partial to a dress introduced by strangers. All who ever settled in the Highlands, as far as we can ascertain, conformed to the manners of their adopted country.

I trust that I shall be found to have fulfilled all that was promised in the Prospectus. If any part has been treated superficially, it is the "genealogical dissertations," a subject to which incidental allusions only could be made in such a work. The materials I have, however, collected, are abundant and interesting, and will enable me, should such an undertaking meet with encouragement, to elucidate Clan History in a novel and interesting manner. The ignorance of heralds and genealogists has wofully mystified family antiquities; but my plan is not to derive families from the individual whose name is first found in a charter, or other document, as the laborious author of "Caledonia" has done, imagining he had settled their origin by this proof, as if persons of certain names, or even tribes, did not exist before the formation of certain parchment documents! I would, for instance, submit whether the Grants, a clan of equal antiquity with the Mac Alpins, who are traditionally considered to be coeval with their native hills, did not more probably take their name from the well-known district in Strathspey, called Griantachd, the country of Grannus, or the sun, than from a certain person called Le Grand. The clan Chattan do indeed say that they are sprung from, or were connected with, the Cattans of the continent; but the Gordons, the Frasers, the Menzies, and the Ruthvens, have no tradition of their descent from the Gorduni, the Frisii, the Menapii, or the Rutheni, of Gaul, although the similarity of names seems of itself to infer a common origin.

I have endeavoured to relieve the tedium of the antiquarian and descriptive parts with anecdotes, many of them

original, illustrative of the different subjects, and I hope my selections may be thought judicious. I have, however, forborne to infuse humour into my recitals, notwithstanding it might have enlivened the drier parts of the narration.

The variety of matters which are discussed at length, or briefly alluded to in these volumes, will be seen from the Index, in preparing which I have bestowed much care, confident that to no work could it be more necessary. He who, for want of this useful appendage, has been compelled to go over a book in search of something, which perhaps after his trouble he may not find, will be able to appreciate this part of the work. The reader will find the Index a faithful assistant to almost every subject.

The gracious permission to dedicate this work to his present Most Excellent Majesty, is a renewal of the distinguished honour intended me by his lamented predecessor.

I might, by individual application, have increased the list of Subscribers. Small as it is, and inadequate to the expense incurred, I feel proud in publishing the names of those, who, on first hearing of the undertaking, expressed their desire to patronise it. To several of those persons I am also indebted for valuable information, which I thankfully acknowledge.

The Highland Society of London, ever ready to promote objects of national importance, promptly declared their resolution to encourage my design.

In addition to what has been said on some subjects, the few farther observations which follow may not be inappropriate.

In page 97 are some remarks on the population of the Highlands and Isles. The whole population of Scotland will be ascertained by the census of May, 1831. It having appeared to me desirable to obtain an accurate statement

of the numbers of the Highlanders, dividing them into clans or districts, I had the honour of corresponding with Sir John Sinclair and others, who entered into my views on the subject. Convinced that a census taken in this manner would be of national utility, in putting government in possession of the real strength of each clan, and thus enabling it to determine what regiments could, in case of emergency, be raised in certain parts, and recruited from the same district, I took the liberty of communicating my sentiments to Mr. Rickman, who was charged with the execution of the Population Acts of 1801, 1811, and 1831. My object was not deemed capable of being accomplished; but the following letter from a gentleman long in the army, and on the recruiting service, will, perhaps, show that its adoption might have been attended with advantage.

"31*st August*, 1830.

"DEAR SIR,

"With respect to taking the census by clans in the Highlands of Scotland, I think it would be of importance in many points of view, but particularly with respect to military levies and national defence. When a regiment is raised from one clan, the men consider themselves as much at home, wherever they serve, as though they had not left their native valley. The youth enlist into such regiment with alacrity, and the more it distinguishes itself, and the harder its services, the more eager will they be to gain a name among their kindred. Had the 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, and 75th regiments been the clan regiments of the Mac Donalds, the Mac Intoshes, the Grants, the Mac Phersons, &c. the government had never found it necessary to change their dress, and wrap their thighs in a blanket, as the few Highlanders we had then in the 75th emphatically called breeches of white coarse cloth. I conceive, that although heritable jurisdictions have very properly been abolished, it would be advantageous to government to keep up among the Gaël as much of the spirit of clanship as possible. If they have sacrificed so much to mistaken loyalty, what may not be expected from their devotedness to a better cause, if in the course of events it should require their support. In short, if the clan system had been more fully adopted during last

war, I have no doubt there would have been at Waterloo, for every Highlander who fought there, at least two, and his Grace of Wellington can best tell what would have been their value on such an occasion. The plan alluded to would put the government in possession of the number of each clan, and in the case of raising local forces, or troops for general service, they would fix upon those clans whose numbers would enable them to complete their levies in the shortest time. Upon this point it would create a useful feeling among the chiefs, of retaining the tenantry upon their estates, for he that has nothing but sheep on his grounds could never expect a colonelcy.

I have been a great part of my life a diligent observer of the character and manners of the Highlanders, and I have uniformly found, that preserving them in a body is the only means of preserving their character from degenerating. The reason of this is clear; if a man commit an unworthy action while serving abroad, his friends at home are sure to be informed of it, and he looks upon himself as a banished man, who must never revisit his native land.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Yours sincerely,

"DONALD MAC PHERSON."

To Mr. James Logan.

In support of the opinions here stated, it may be observed, that at Waterloo, of 454 Scotsmen in the 42nd regiment, there were only 17 men of the name of Campbell, and not one Gordon. The former join their friends in the 79th and 91st. The latter serve in their own clan corps, where also the Mac Phersons chiefly enrol themselves. In like manner the Macræs, Munroes, Rosses, &c. join the Mac Kenzies in the 78th, and the Mac Kays go into the Sutherland regiment; this, however, is no proof of the indifference of individuals to the feelings of clanship; they only, when entering the army, select the regiment where they can associate with those who are from the same parts of the country. The inference is, that were Highlanders able to serve in a battalion of their own clan, they would enter the service with more alacrity.

In stating, Volume I. page 315, that the sword which belonged to Gordon, of Bucky, is believed to be the oldest specimen of the basket hilt, I had not seen a weapon which has been an heir loom in the family of Sir Charles Forbes, of New, and Edinglassie, in Aberdeenshire. This curious sword is very broad, but not of great length, and bears an inscription "The Cuttie of New. Alex^{r} Forbes, 1513." If the cliabh, or basket, is an original part, it appears to be the most early specimen.

The names of the letters given in the Gaëlic Alphabet, Volume II. p. 390, are chiefly from the Dictionary published under the sanction of the Highland Society, and I have stated that the Irish idiom has been adopted. It is to be regretted that the learned gentlemen employed in this great work did not give the native appellations of the letters, several of which differ from those in the sister dialect. The compilers had not the same object in view which I have in speaking of the Tree system in the above place, but some more attention to the letters, the materials of which their whole work is composed, might have been more satisfactory. The subject of Letters and Language, discussed in the Introduction and last chapter, deserves a more extended dissertation than the present design could admit of. "There is room," says Gibbon, "for a very interesting work,—to lay open the connexion between the language and manners of nations."

CHAPTER I.

OF THE CELTIC RACE, COMPOSING THE VARIOUS NATIONS THAT FORMERLY INHABITED EUROPE.

EUROPE, in the most early ages, was inhabited by one race of men, whose antiquity is enveloped in inscrutable darkness. From the first memorial of their existence, they are distinguished by the name of CELTÆ, but the origin of this remarkable people was utterly unknown to themselves. They had no idea of having ever occupied any other country than that in which they found themselves; and the Druids, the depositaries of their traditional knowledge, maintained that they were aborigines.[a] This belief was not singular, nor more extraordinary than that

[a] Ammianus Marcellinus, on the authority of Timogenes.

of many other nations, equally ignorant and credulous, but more polished and refined. The Celtæ, on the authority of their priests, declared themselves descended from the god Dis, a being identified with the Pluto of Greek and Roman mythology,[b] but more probably meant for the Earth.

This derivation cannot be admitted: the inhabitants of the west must have proceeded from Asia, the parent country of all mankind, at a period which neither historical research nor popular tradition has been able to approach. All history, both sacred and profane, proves this quarter of the globe to have been the original seat of mankind.

In migrating from the east, the human race successively occupied Greece and Italy, and extended themselves from the Euxine to the Atlantic. As their numbers increased, they gradually took possession of the whole country from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, and a scanty population sought the means of subsistence, among the less inviting wastes, from thence to the Frozen Sea. Europe and Celtica were indeed synonymous:[c] the sole inhabitants, from the Pillars of Hercules to Archangel, and from the banks of the Euxine to the German Ocean, being Celts, however distinguished by particular names, applied at various times to different tribes and independent communities. The appellation Celtæ, which this primitive people acknowledged as their only proper name,[d] and which at first they received from others, in subsequent times underwent several changes. The ancient Greeks used this term in speaking of them, but it afterwards became transformed into Calatæ

[b] Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 17. The Germans derived their origin from Tuisto, apparently the same being as the Celtic Dis or Tis. Tacitus, de Mor. Germanorum.

[c] Ortellius, "Geographia vetus." [d] Cæsar, ut sup.

and Galatæ,[e] and the Roman Galli was itself latterly adopted by some Greek writers.[f]

Numerous etymologies have been offered for the solution of this word. In all its variations it may, with probability, be traced through the Greek Κελτοι to some corresponding term in the Celtic language that no longer exists. It would be a waste of time to enumerate all the conjectures which have been given, and the result would be unsatisfactory. From various circumstances one people may become distinguished from another; but if enquirers were to reflect, that original names cannot arise from national manners, and that it is more natural for nations to become denominated from the country they inhabit, than that it should receive a name from its possessors, it would serve to check many romantic and fanciful conceits. An appellation so very ancient, and so extensively bestowed, must have arisen from something independent of country, and appropriate to a numerous race.

To derive the term Celtæ from "Hills," or "Woods," or "Waters," or from western or northern position, when the people so designated occupied all parts of an extensive continent, and filled its islands, is manifestly absurd. How much more likely it is to have arisen from peculiar personal appearance, the first and natural origin of names. It has been supposed that the Greeks applied the term to denote the *milky whiteness* of the skin; but in this point the difference between the two people seems insufficient to give rise to a designation, which the Celts retained as their

[e] Pausanias, who wrote about 165, says they were but lately denominated Gauls, for they had always called themselves Celtæ. Descriptio Græciæ, lib. i. c. 3. The term Gauls seems to have been at first applied to those who had obtained a settlement in Asia, and were long known as Galatians.

[f] Appian first uses it in the beginning of the second century.

own proper name. A striking and a permanent dissimilarity has always existed between the European and the Ethiopian, both in complexion and personal conformation. Amid conjectures so various, may we not suppose, that in the infancy of mankind, if I can so speak, perhaps before they had visited Europe, a name arose expressive of the fair complexion of the white man, compared with the sable negro.[g] From the primitive language of those who first peopled the country, the Greek Galactoi has been undoubtedly derived, and was afterwards given as the origin of the term, when the most ancient Celtic had become unknown.

The practice of distinguishing individuals by personal appearance and qualifications, is still retained by the Scots Highlanders, the Irish, and the Welsh; and, in support of the etymology I have above given, it is worthy of observation, that "Gaëlic" has been, by good antiquaries, translated the language of *white men.* Gealta signifies whitened, and comes from Geal, white.[h] The similarity of this word to the term Celtæ is striking; from it, in all probability, came the Roman Gallus.

As the Celtæ moved westward, either from choice or the pressure of an increasing population in the east, they carried with them a simple language and mode of life; and as they met with no inhabitants in the land they took possession of, their primitive manners could at first suffer no farther change than what the difference of country and climate would naturally produce. It may be inferred,

[g] So the native Americans call themselves the red men, in contradistinction to the whites.

[h] Gaëlic Dictionaries. The Pictish Chronicle says, the Albani, who had their name from their *white hair*, were the people from whom both Scots and Picts were derived. Those who deduced Celtæ from flaxen or reddish coloured hair, gave a plausible etymon: C was often used for G, and seems to have been the most ancient letter. Hence we find the Galatians were also called Calatians; Gallicia was anciently Callacia, &c.

with probability, that they continued for a considerable time less warlike than nations who obtain a settlement by force of arms, and must of necessity protect their acquisition by similar means. The disconnexion of their tribes, a striking characteristic of the race, had an apparent tendency to enfeeble the Celts, and seems to have prevented the formation of any great empire, as among other nations; but the peace in which they lived was favourable to population. Their mode of life, while it cherished a love of freedom, was highly conducive to bodily strength and hardihood; and the principle of division, which separated the people into so many distinct and independent tribes, did not prevent them from uniting in enterprises, by which their power was often felt in various parts of the world. They invaded Asia, they overspread Thrace, and enriched themselves with the plunder of the temples of Greece. In the reign of Tarquin the elder, nearly six centuries before the incarnation,[i] a numerous body of Celtæ, both horse and foot, accompanied by multitudes of women and children, left their native seats in search of new settlements. One part of this army followed Belovesus, and surmounting the Alps, which, till then, it was believed, had never been crossed, established themselves near the river Po; while the other division, conducted by his brother, Sigovesus, passed into Germany, where these emigrants settled, in the vicinity of the Hyrcinian, now the Black Forest.[j] The numerous armies which the Celtæ at times sent abroad, filled with alarm the most warlike and civilized nations of Europe. Their irresistible inroads, and the terror of their name, procured peaceful settlements, and even the pay-

[i] About 570, Bossuet, Histoire Universelle, vol. i. p. 33. Ed. 1706.

[j] Livius, Historia Romana. lib. v. c. 34, 35. Appian, of the Gallic War, c. 1.

ment of heavy annual tribute from powerful states. An army of Gauls, under the command of Brennus, went into Italy against the Hetrusci, 390 years before the advent of Christ. The Romans thought proper to interfere in the quarrel, and killed one of the Gallic princes; upon which their army, marching to Rome, defeated the troops who opposed them, laid the city in ashes, and finally received one thousand pounds weight of gold to purchase their retreat, and save the capital from inevitable destruction. Camillus was fortunately able to repulse them, as they lingered in the country, unapprehensive of attack; but they were not deterred by defeat from renewing their overwhelming and destructive invasions.[k]

About 270, A. C., in three great divisions, they made inroads on Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyria. Those who entered Macedonia routed the army by which they were opposed, and slew Ptolemy the king. Passing into Asia, they filled the inhabitants with terror and dismay, and received from the suffering Bythinians a free settlement in the country, where they were afterwards known as the Galatians, or Gallo-Greeks. The other divisions were less fortunate; but they retreated only to invade Greece with redoubled fury, and a more numerous armament.[l]

The Celtæ, notwithstanding the frequent demonstrations of their warlike powers, were, for a long period, but little known to the more polished nations of Europe, who were able to transmit authentic information concerning so singular a people. Their history and their religion were preserved among themselves; but their rigid adherence to traditional poetry, as the sole vehicle of record, has left

[k] Plutarch, in vita Camilli. Strabo, iv. p. 195, v. p. 213.

[l] Pausanias, x. 19.

posterity in much ignorance concerning the state of the Celtic nations in early ages. Their ferocious invasions too, however they might excite curiosity, were not calculated to induce a personal visit to their territories, or a quiet investigation of their manners and antiquities. When there was, therefore, scarcely any communication with the north and west parts of the continent, it was impossible to acquire accurate information respecting these parts of Europe, or the inhabitants; hence the obscure and contradictory intimations we find concerning both.

A people who are spread over a vast continent, cannot long remain an entire nation. Boundaries, marked out by nature, will divide the inhabitants into separate communities, and local situation will procure an appropriate name, and create a difference in manners. In the lapse of time the dissimilarity is increased, and when, from an obvious and inherent principle, every community aspires to an independent existence, the most powerful will acquire and retain an ascendency over the others, who, ultimately, become confederates, and are classed as branches or subdivisions of a numerous association. Thus arises a variety of nations or tribes that long continue to be regulated by similar laws and customs, and retain their original language, but eventually alter their dialect, and lose the remembrance of a common origin.

The Celts, who were the sole inhabitants of Europe in the infancy of time, were at last formed into a number of divisions, distinguished by peculiar names, but retaining, with their national affinity, the general appellation of Celtæ.

The apparent diversity of the ancient people of Europe, arising, as it should seem, from the confused and indefinite ideas that existed respecting the regions of the north and west, has been a prolific source for polemical discussion,

and has afforded ample matter for the disquisitions of those who have applied themselves to investigate the origin of nations. An ignorance, so favourable to the indulgence of fancy, has given opportunity for the introduction of fictitious narration. The Greeks were extremely credulous, and it is often very difficult to understand what people were meant in their dark and traditional relations.

The HYPERBOREI, or those who lived beyond the north wind, appear the most singular of the people of antiquity. So dark are the intimations that are handed down concerning them, that we are inclined to consider the whole as the fables or allegories of an obscure theology. According to some historians, *si credimus*, as Pliny very considerately adds, they dwelt beyond the Riphæan mountains, which were always covered with snow, and from whence the north wind arose: a latitude by no means suitable to the descriptions given by others, of the genial climate, the fruitful soil, and the happy lives of the inhabitants.[m] The situation of the Sauromatæ, with whom the Hyperborei have been identified, does not better justify the appellation. Strabo speaks of the Hyperborei as those people, whose geographical position could scarcely give propriety to the name. Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Hecatæus, a very ancient historian, who wrote, as Herodotus informs us, a volume on the Hyperborei, describes them as inhabiting an island opposite to Gaul, and as large as Sicily; but he does not appear to give much credit to the relation.[n] These islanders had of long and ancient time a particular esteem for the Greeks, arising from certain religious connexions, to be hereafter noticed. This description appears applicable to Britain,

[m] Herodotus, lib. iv. Pliny, Hist. Nat. iv. 12. Pomp. Mela, i. 1, &c. Strabo, i. p. 61.

[n] Diod. Sic. ii. 3.

if there were not, as Bryant conjectures, a mysterious signification in the name. It was certainly suited to vague and unintelligible ideas respecting some remote people. When Rome was taken by the Gauls under Brennus, it was reported in the east that his troops were an army of Hyperborei.[o] These conflicting accounts prove how little was really known of those who dwelt beyond the snowy regions and the north wind.

The CIMMERII, who are placed by Homer "at old Ocean's utmost bounds," and are otherwise believed to have lived in Italy, near the lake Avernus,[p] inhabited the country in the vicinity of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to which, either this people, or an ancient city gave name.[q] Eusebius mentions an incursion of the Cimmerii into Greece, 1076 years before Christ. Subsequently, they made inroads on Ionia and Lydia, and took the city of Sardes.[r] About 600 years before the Christian era they were driven into Asia by the Scyths, where they are all supposed to have perished. They sometimes were called Trerones, from one of their tribes, the Treres, who bordered on Macedonia;[s] a considerable distance, certainly, from the position which the Cimmerians are generally supposed to have occupied. Although the Cimmerii would appear, from the above account, to have been extinct nearly 2500 years, Dionysius Periegetes and Pliny speak of some of them as still remaining in their original situation; and Plutarch says, that the greater and more warlike part took

[o] Heraclides of Pontus, de anima, quoted by Ritson. Plutarch, in Vita Camilli, ibid.

[p] Strabo, v. p. 244.

[q] Strabo, xi. p. 494. Mela. James Gronovius says, the city itself received its name from the Cimmerians, p. 137, ed. 1697. The Bosphorus is now known as the Straits of Caffa.

[r] Strabo. Callisthenes, apud Gronovium in Animad. ed. 1739, &c.

[s] Strabo. i. p. 61. Pliny, iv. 10.

up their residence "in the remotest regions upon the northern ocean."[t]

It was a prevalent opinion, that they were the same people as the CIMBRI, who inhabited Jutland, Holstein, &c. in Denmark, formerly denominated the Cimbrica Chersonesus, and who introduced themselves to the notice of the Romans 113 years A. C.[u]

Diodorus, from the resemblance which the two people bore to each other in warlike renown, says the Cimbrians were believed by many to be descended from the ancient Cimmerians, and Possidonius thinks the former were the original people, who, extending their arms eastward, gave their name to the Bosphorus, an opinion in which Strabo seems to acquiesce.[v] The memorials of the ancient Cimmerii, who were so great and powerful, appear to have been chiefly records of their military enterprises. Those

[t] In Bello Cimbrico. Pliny, vi. 12.

[u] The name of these people has received different etymological solutions. It is said to arise from the Greek Kimeros, mist or darkness, the origin of the Latin Cimmerius. Beloe, on Herodotus. Sheringham, and Bryant, in his Analysis of Ancient Mythology, iii. 498, coincide in this derivation. Others have deduced Cimbri from a word which signifies robbers in German to this day. Festus, Plutarch, &c. Kimper or Kimber, a warrior, is also given as the origin. Whittaker, alluding to the name, which the Welch still retain, calls Cymri and Gael, equally the general designations of the Celtæ, being the hereditary name of the Gauls, from Gomer, the son of Japhet, an opinion that is embraced by others, and seems founded on the conjecture of Josephus, Antiq. l. 6. It is an origin of the "grand generic term," much easier admitted than that they "were produced from the elements of their own proper soil and climate."—O'Conner. Clelland, Voc. p. 202, says the appellation comes from the ancient Celtic Kym, a mountain. We find the island of Cimbrei, now Cumray, the kingdom of Cumbria, &c. In the Commentaries of Cæsar we also find Cimber a proper name.

The Bretons are said to assume the name Cumero.

[v] Lib. vii. p. 293.

people, who afterwards were found on the shores of the Baltic, although bearing a name so much alike, excited little notice until they burst on the astonished nations, and threatened the subversion of the Roman empire. It was then natural to enquire what they were, and whence they came, and it was not strange that the warlike Cimbri should be derived from the anciently renowned Cimmerii. Such a descent, notwithstanding the distance between their respective situations,[w] is not impossible; but a similarity of name is not a decisive proof of national identity: it demonstrates the existence at some period of a universal language. In the want of certain information, and from the ambiguity of the ancient historians, much diversity of opinion has arisen concerning these people. Some authors positively affirm, that the Cimbrians must have been Celts; and others, with equal pertinacity, assert that they were Germans; and both parties are provided with authorities in vindication of their belief. The expressions of several ancient writers, perhaps, leave it doubtful which nation they understood the Cimbri to be most nearly related to; but others are sufficiently explicit. Plutarch says, that by their grey eyes and large stature, they were thought by some to be Germans, dwelling on the north sea;[x] and Pomponius Mela says, the Cimbri and Teutones are situated in the Codan bay, "beyond the Hermiones and the last of Germany."[y] Pliny,[z] Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, and others agree in calling them Germans. On the other hand, Cicero, Sallust, Dio, Sextus Rufus, &c. uniformly denominate them Celts or Gauls. Valerius Maximus, speaking of their invasion of Italy, says, Sertorius qualified himself for a spy, by assuming the

[w] Nearly 1400 miles.

[x] In vita Camilli.

[y] De orbis situ, iii. c. 3.

[z] Lib. iv. c. 14.

Gallic habit, and learning that language.[a] Florus, on the same subject, says, the Cimbri, Theutoni, and Tigurini, came from the most remote parts of Gaul:[b] out of the hidden parts of the ocean, as Ammianus expresses it.[c] Diodorus states, that it was the opinion of many, that the Celts were themselves descended of the ancient Cimmerii, who, by a corrupt pronunciation, were then called Cimbri.[d] The Gauls who overran all Asia, he also says, were denominated Cimmerii, and in his account of the Lusitanians, he calls them the most valiant of all the Cimbri. "Celtæ sive Galli quos Cimbros vocant," are the striking words of Appian.[e]

Some have reconciled these different and contradictory passages by the consideration, that several tribes of Gauls joined in the expedition to Italy. If, however, the two people had been entirely distinct, the dissimilarity would most probably have been noticed; but the manners of the Cimbri, as they were displayed to the Romans, do not appear to have differed materially from those of the other inhabitants of Gaul. The terror inspired by the overwhelming invasion, through which their name first became known, 113 years before the Christian era, seems to have prevented a calm survey of visitors so alarming and so unexpected.

An army of these people, so numerous, that, marching without intermission, six days elapsed before it had wholly passed, burst from the Alps like an irresistible torrent;

[a] Vita Sertorii. Cæsar says, the Aduatici, a tribe of Belgic Gauls, were Cimbri, lib. ii. c. 29. Dio. Cassius repeats this, lib. xxxix. 4, and Appian says the Nervii, a most powerful Belgian nation, were descended of the Cimbri and Teutones, lib. vi. 2. See the opinions of various authors in Ritson's Memoirs of the Celts.

[b] Lib. iii. 3. Strabo ii. p. 102. [c] Lib. xxxi. 6.

[d] Lib. v. 2. [e] In Illyricis, c. 2.

resolved not to stop until the city of Rome had been razed to its foundations. After several successful battles, this vast multitude were indeed finally routed, with incredible carnage;[f] but the magnitude of the enterprise, and the desperate valour of the troops, made the strongest impression.

The Cimbri remained long after this in their ancient seats, and obtained the friendship of the Romans, but never regained their former military renown.

The history of the people denominated SCYTHS, who, from their various achievements, appear to have been a numerous and powerful race, is involved in singular obscurity. It has excited much interest, but the labours of those who have investigated the subject, notwithstanding their care in the pursuit, have not produced a very satisfactory result. Great learning, assisted by ingenious conjecture, has been exerted to ascertain whether the Celtæ or the Scythæ are the most ancient people. The latter appear in a period the most remote, and they are mentioned with so much ambiguity, that it seems impossible to unravel the intricacy of their history. They are represented as conquering Asia 3660 years before the epoch of redemption, and effecting various other important revolutions in succeeding ages, until the seventh century before our era, when they appear in Medea, whither they had pursued the Cimmerians.[g] They are supposed by many to have been those who are now called Tartars, and by some they are identified with the Celtæ. Bryant, observing that there were Scyths in Asia and Africa, as well as in Europe, thinks the name was given to mixed and wandering tribes in different parts of the world;[h]

[f] See Plutarch's account of the Cimbrian war.

[g] Herodotus, iv. 1.

[h] Analysis of Ancient Mythology.

in which opinion Gibbon concurs, calling it "a vague but familiar appellation."[i]

Strabo says, that, as Homer has intimated, all nations were originally called Scythæ or Nomades; and afterwards, in the countries of the west, they began to acquire the appellations of Celtæ, Celto-Scythæ, and Iberi; but all the nations had at first one name.[j]

The Scythians were certainly not recent settlers among the Aborigines; for, like the Celtæ, they had no idea of having ever possessed other lands, but believed themselves more ancient than the Egyptians, who called themselves the most ancient of men.[k] The term ΣΚΥΘΑΣ, a word, that has, like others, received an abundant share of different etymologies, was probably first used among the Greeks by Æschylus, 625 years anterior to the Christian era.[l] Amongst the Persians, Sacæ was a general name for all Scythians;[m] but in Europe, it seems to have been limited

[i] Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

[j] Lib. i. p. 33. Falconer, in his edition, i. p. 48, remarks on Νομαδαϱ, "apud Homerum non memini me legere hoc vocabulum." Xylander had done the same. Casaubon thinks the word used was different, but of the same signification. Nomades is expressive of the shepherd state of society. Nomades and Georgians appear to signify pastoral and agricultural people. Pliny, iv. 12. The Greeks, according to Wachter, placed the Scyths towards the north, the Celts to the west, and the Celto-Scythæ in a middle situation. Newton says all Europe was peopled with Cimmerii and Scythians, before the time of Samuel. Chronology.

[k] Justin, quoted in a note on Beloe's Herodotus.

[l] Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Goths. Scyth comes from Scytan; which, in the eastern language, signifies a dart.—Wachter. Sciot, is in old Gaëlic, a dart or arrow.—"Ogygia." Clelland says, Scuyt, is a man of the north. The Scyths were called Aerpata, "ab aeor, vir, "et pata, cædere," sic. Herodotus, ii. 12. See the etymologies of the name Scot.

[m] Herodotus, vii. c. 60. Sacæ appears a corruption of Scythæ. Appian, iii.

to the most celebrated nation amongst these people.[n] The Greeks long retained the name of Scythæ,[o] which they applied to those nations known to the Romans, at first as GETÆ or Getians, latterly as GOTHS. Zosimus and other late Greek writers, always denominate those Scythians, who were called Getes by the Romans; and Dexippus, who wrote in the third century, entitles his history of their wars with the empire, Scythica.[p]

When Darius made his famous expedition against the European Scythæ, 514 years before Christ, he found the Getæ a warlike people, situated on the western shores of the Euxine, and having subdued them, he went in pursuit of the Scyths, who studiously avoided a collision with his forces. One hundred and eighty years afterwards, Alexander led his troops on a similar expedition, and found the same inhabitants.[q]

From these invasions, the Greeks appear to have acquired their first knowledge of the Scythic nations.

Pliny says, these people inhabited from the mouth of the Danube, inland, and that their tribes acquired various names, the ancient denomination being retained by those only who lived in the most remote and unknown parts.[r] Priscus, Theophanes, and others, speak of this people under both the Greek and Roman appellations; and the philosopher Anacharsis, celebrated as a learned Scythian, was related to the royal princes of Getia. The two names were, therefore, certainly applied to the same people.

"To the left (of the Danube) are the Scythæ nomades

[n] Pliny. Diod. Sic. [o] "Even until the 14th century." Pinkerton.

[p] It has been supposed, that Scythæ, Skutæ, Kutæ, are but different readings of Getæ. Beloe, ut sup. Get, or Got, according to Torfæus, anciently signified a soldier. [q] Herodotus, iv.

[r] Lib. iv. 12. The term Gothi began, in his time, to supplant the ancient name of Getæ.

towards the west, who are spread even to the east sea and India," are the words of Strabo;[s] who elsewhere says, the most considerable river which flows through Scythia, is the Danube: and this river is placed by Diodorus among those of Gaul,[t] where it certainly arose, and discharged itself in the Euxine, in the territories of the Getæ, who lived on the north bank of the stream. Pliny speaks of the Scythians inhabiting a part of Moesia, towards Pontus; and those who lived in that country were afterwards classed among the Gothic nations. Herodotus says, where Thrace ends, Scythia begins, and extends westward to the city Carcinitis.[u]

From this indefinite application of the term Scythæ, it appears to have been suitable to various tribes, and most probably was used to designate those who remained in the state of Nomades, while others, who were settled, became distinguished by peculiar names, as Pliny seems to have understood.[v] It is otherwise scarcely possible to account for the remote and disconnected situations in which this people are found.

Their vagrant habits were proverbial. Herodotus says, they had neither towns nor fortified places, but carried their habitations along with them, so that their constant abode might be said to be in their waggons;[w] and these habits characterized them in the time of Ammianus, who describes them as wandering over the wilds in their carts, whensoever and whither they pleased:[x] a mode of life which Horace seems to envy.[y]

[s] Lib. xi. p. 507. [t] Lib. v. 2. [u] Lib. iv. 96.

[v] Lib. iv. 12. The Scholiast of Appollonius Rhodius, who flourished 230 years, A. C. speaks of 50 nations of Scyths. [w] Lib. iv.

[x] Lib. xxii. 8.

[y] "Campestres melius Scythæ
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ." Lib. iii. 23. 9.

The DACI, who lived contiguous to the Getæ, are often confounded with them, which evidently shews that little difference could exist between the two people. They are, it is true, frequently mentioned distinctively, but we have Strabo's authority, that the terms were indiscriminately used;[z] and Pliny tells us, that the Romans called the people, by either name, "Getæ, Daci, Romanis dicti." Strabo says, the Daci "ab antiquo" lived towards Germany, around the sources of the Danube,[a] which is considerably to the west of the situation which is afterwards assigned them; but it is apparent that the Celts themselves have been considered Scyths. Plutarch says, "the Celtæ "extend from the Western Ocean to the part of Scythia "on the Euxine; that the two nations mingle together; "and that, notwithstanding they are distinguished by "different names, according to their tribes, yet their whole "army is called Celto-Scythæ."[b] That the Greeks denominated the northern nations Celto-Scyths, has been before observed. Anastasius, a writer of the ninth century, says the ancients were accustomed to call all the northern region Scythia, where are the Goths and Danes;[c] and Ortellius remarks, "Celtas cum Scythis, conjungit Aristoteles de mundo."[d] A line of demarcation has been drawn between the two people, at the point "where the waters flow eastward to the Euxine, and westward to the Atlantic;"[e] but they are so little discriminated, that a precise definition of their territories is impossible, and when we speak of the one people, we must "often include an idea of both."[f]

[z] Lib. vii. p. 304. [a] Lib. vii. [b] In vita Marii.

[c] Pinkerton's Enquiry, i. 192.

[d] Geographia, 1595. He considers all the ancient inhabitants of Europe, Celts, and quotes many authorities to prove all the northern nations of that race. See his map of Europe, &c.

[e] Caledonia, i. p. 10. [f] Ogygia.

The Goths, or Scythians, are, therefore, an aboriginal people of Europe, differing in some respects from their predecessors the Celts. That they were of the same race, but later in the stream of population that flowed westward, is the clear inference from all that the ancients have left us concerning them.

Strabo observes, that the Greeks called the Getæ, Dacians, and reckoned both Thracians, because they all used the same language. Thrace anciently extended from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth,[g] and when the dispute between Erectheus, and Eumolpus the Thracian, who laid claim to Athens as part of his father's territory, was settled, it was agreed that both people should be considered as one, and that the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis, the capital of Thrace, should be equally revered at Athens.[h] Thus, 3000 years ago, the Greeks and Barbarians were but beginning to consider themselves different people. The cognate marks by which nations of identic origin are recognised, were not effaced among the Scythic race long after the unmixed Celts had been confined to the west. When Xenophon finished the retreat of the 10,000 among the Getæ, 398 years, A. C. the Greeks were then received as a kindred people.[i]

The wisdom, the learning, the justice, and the clemency of the Scythic nations, have been much extolled. So great praise could not have been bestowed without some reason, and we therefore find many illustrious persons of antiquity were connected by birth with the Getic tribes.[j]

[g] Thucydides, ii. 29. Hence Pausanias speaks of the Getæ obtaining "that part of Thrace which is beyond the Ister," i. c. 9.

[h] See Clarke on Coins, p. 66, with his authorities.

[i] Herodotus, iv. 93, ap. Caledonia. Strabo. Lib. vii. says the Celts and Thracians mingled together.

[j] Anacharsis. Menander, the inventor of comedy. Zamalxis, who wrote of a place of happiness in a future state, &c. &c. &c.

The Celts, who were "the most remote inhabitants towards the west"[k] 500 years before the advent of Christ, retained the same position when Cæsar commenced the Gallic war, fifty-seven years before that era. At this time they appeared in three great divisions: the Celtæ, the Belgæ, and the Aquitani; distinct from each other, and separated from the Germans by the river Rhine.[l] We have here a proof of the gradual formation of several nations, from one numerous and wide-spread race; for the more ancient historians were ignorant of these divisions, and the terms, even at the above period, seem to have been applied more as local distinctions of the same race, than indications of different people.

Diodorus relates, what he tells us few knew any thing about, that "the Celtæ inhabited the inland parts about "the Alps, and on this side the Pyrennean mountains, "called Celtica; and those who were below this part, south-"ward to the ocean, and the mountain Hyrcinus, and all "as far as Scythia, were called Gauls; but the Romans "called all the inhabitants by one and the same name of "Gauls."[m] Cæsar, who describes the three nations as differing from each other in customs, language, and laws, at the same time says, that the whole people continued to denominate themselves Celtæ, which term was also sometimes used by the Romans with the more familiar appellation of Galli, as other writers also notice.[n]

Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived 438 years later than Cæsar, thinks it rather a matter of conjecture than of fact, that Gaul was inhabited by three sorts of people, and he as a soldier, had often come in contact with their troops,

[k] Except the Cynetæ. Herodotus, iv. c. 3.

[l] Cæsar de Bello Gallico, i.

[m] Lib. v. c. 2. [n] De Bello Gallico. Pliny, iv.

and had served in Gaul and Germany, along with numerous bodies of Celtic auxiliaries.

An examination of the ancient historians and geographers, will shew the positions of the three nations, and wherein they differed from each other, and from the people who dwelt around them.

From the Garonne to the Seine and Marne was the possession of the CELTÆ, who retained their ancient and appropriate name, as they did also that of their country, which was called Celtica. From the Seine to the Rhine were the territories of the BELGÆ, who were the most celebrated nation of Gaul. This people believed themselves descended of the GERMANNI, from whom they were only separated by the Rhine; but in those ancient times, when the Germans are said to have sent this colony across the river to settle in Belgica, were they not themselves Celtæ, with whom they retained the common tradition of being indigenous?[o] Dio Nicæus says, that, in the most ancient times, the inhabitants of both sides of the Rhine called themselves by the same name, Celts; and he himself calls the Belgians, Celtics.[p] Josephus calls the German legion, which formed Caligula's body guard, the Celtic; and Ortellius, who cites many authorities, says the unanimous opinion of all historians is, that those called Gauls and Germans were Celts.[q] Strabo found the two people closely resembled each other in manners and personal appearance, from which he conceived that the Germans had been rightly named the brethren of the Gauls. His etymology

[o] Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum. Like the Celts, they also affected a celestial origin. In their old poems they celebrated Tuisto, a god sprung from the earth, and his son, Mannus, as their first parents.

[p] Quoted in Ritson's Memoirs of the Celts.

[q] Geographia, sub Europa. He also speaks of "Celtica sive Germanica." See also Sheringham, de Anglorum gentis origine.

may be wrong,[r] but the term was certainly imposed by the Romans, and never acknowledged by themselves.[s] Suidas, in like manner, affirms that the Celts were also called Germans, but Schoepflin understands him to mean otherwise.[t] Many Gallic nations were settled on the German side of the Rhine, and one of the most considerable was that of the Helvetii, who are described by Cæsar as in no respect different from the other inhabitants;[u] at the same time he says, they were not entirely similar to the Celts.[v] This is inconsistent with what he has elsewhere observed of these colonies,[w] and perhaps implies no greater variation than what is observable between the remote districts of all countries; for throughout his Commentaries, it does not appear that the difference between the Celtic nations was very material. Tacitus, finding so many Gauls in Germany, endeavours to account for part of them, by saying they were vagabonds, who, being reduced by poverty to the necessity of leaving their own country, settled on the *waste* lands that appeared to belong to no certain proprietor. Cæsar says, these Gaulish emigrants established themselves in the most *fruitful* places; but even had these tracts been entirely unoccupied, bands of robbers, however desperate they may have become, would have had some difficulty in taking forcible possession of them. The Germans looked sharply after their waste lands, and were by no means inclined to let strangers occupy even the most desert places. The poor Ansibarians, one of their own tribes, after an unsuccessful revolt, were not permitted to settle any where among them, but were exposed to all the

[r] Lib. iv. p. 195, vii. p. 290.

[s] Mr. Greatheed, in Archælogia, xvi. Clarke says the word signifies swordsmen or warriors.

[t] "Vindiciæ Celticæ."

[u] Bello Gallico, vi. c. 22. [v] Ibid. vi. c. 19. [w] Ibid. vi. c. 10.

Roman vengeance for asserting their liberty, and wandered about until they were utterly exterminated.[x] The probability is, that the Gallic colonies obtained peaceable settlements from the claims of national affinity; and it may be proof of a good understanding between the two people, if it goes not farther, that several German tribes made common cause with the Belgic armies in the Gallic war. Tacitus has himself, in another place, acknowledged the close resemblance of the nations inhabiting both sides of the Rhine; and the tradition that the Belgians were a colony of Germans, may have arisen from some faint recollection of the progress of the ancient Celtæ to the west of Europe.

It has been much disputed whether the Germans are of Scythic or Sarmatian origin. It is scarcely necessary to add much on a subject which has been treated with a greater degree of attention than it perhaps merits.[y] Pomponius Mela says, the Sarmatæ and the Germanni were the same people, and Pliny affirms that they were anciently Scyths: the name Scythæ, says he, is changed into that of Sarmatians and Germans.[z] Pausanias remarks the nomadic state in which the Sauromatæ lived,[a] and in which they bore so strong a resemblance to the Scythians, of whom, according to Procopius, they were but a tribe. Some of the Sarmatæ appear, from Pliny, to have been in Pannonia, and Diodorus brings them from Medea; but they may, with some propriety, be said to have perambulated rather than inhabited a country.[b]

The extent of Germania in later times seems not to have been very well ascertained. It was called Lochlin, or

[x] Tacitus, Annals.

[y] See the works of Dr. and James Macpherson, Pinkerton, and many others.

[z] Lib. iv. c. 12. In lib. ii. c. 13, he expressly says, European Scythia comprehended Germany. [a] Lib. i. c. 21. [b] Macpherson's Introduction.

Lychlin, by the British tribes; a name that repeatedly occurs in the works of the bards, and was extended to Scandinavia. A Gaëlic MS., of the ninth or tenth century, describes Gaul and Lochlin as one and the same country, only divided by the Rhine.[c]

The AQUITANI, the third division of the Celtæ, were situated between the river Garonne and the Pyrennean mountains, and they called their country Aremorica.[d] The most considerable difference between the Gauls was found in the inhabitants of this district, who resembled the Iberians more than the other Celts.[e]

This personal resemblance of the two nations may have arisen from their vicinity to each other, and a different complexion from the northern Gauls appears to have been the effect of a warmer climate; but a better reason for the similarity may be found in the authorities already quoted, as well as in others, where it appears that the Iberians were themselves originally Celtæ, who, crossing the Pyrennees, acquired the name of Celtiberi, or rather Celtæ-Iberi; the inhabitants of both sides of these mountains living in amity and friendship, intermarrying, and wearing the same dress, the Celts inhabiting the accessible parts of the mountain itself.[f] Ephorus, according to Strabo, extends Gaul to the city of Cadiz.

The Gauls, after having remained in the west and north of Europe until they had become very numerous, sent back their redundant population to seek for new settlements in the countries which were peopled by the first

[c] Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian, Appendix, p. 309. Lychlyn, i. e. the lake of standing water, is the Welsh name for the Baltic.

[d] Cæsar, de B. G. vii. c. 32. Pliny, iv. c. 17. [e] Strabo, iv. p. 176.

[f] Diod. Sic. v. c. 2. Strabo, iii. p. 162. Appian, in Ibericis, lib. vi. c. 2. "Gallorum Celtæ miscentes nomen Iberis." Lucan, iv. 9.

Celtic migrations, but where all recollection of their common origin was apparently lost, and many colonies were established in various places.

Italy itself was originally peopled by the Celtæ, in their progressive advances to the extremities of the west. The Umbrians, "an exceeding great and ancient people," were the first known inhabitants, and were certainly Gauls,[g] and the progenitors of the Sabines, whom Cicero calls the flower of Italy. Like the Aquitani about the Pyrennees, the Celts dwelt on each side of the Alps. Near them were the Turinois, Agoniens, and many other nations of the same race.[h] The Ligurians, Hetruscans, Venetians, Insubrians, &c. were undoubtedly Celts; but many Gallic colonies at different periods settled in Italy, where a national relationship, in all probability, assisted them in obtaining favourable possessions. The territories of this people were called by the Romans Cisalpine Gaul; and when they had been subdued, and had obtained the privileges of Roman citizens, the province was distinguished by the name of Gallia Togata.

The apparent variety of LANGUAGES among the ancient inhabitants of Europe, is advanced as a strong argument in proof of a diversity of races. The Celts were the sole people who, after their migrations, settled in the west and north of Europe, and spreading themselves over a large continent, they became separated into cantons or nations, that acquired or assumed distinctive appellations. As the learned Dr. Murray observes, "each horde soon multiplied into various nations, regulated by similar customs, and loosely connected by language." Various circum-

[g] Servius, in Eneid, Solinus. Tzetzes on Lycophron, Pezron, &c. Pliny tells us the Tuscans won 300 cities from them, and Amera, according to Cato, was founded 964 years before the war with Perseus.

[h] Polybius, &c.

stances operating on their common speech, gave rise to peculiar pronunciation or dialect.[i] The change of old, the substitution of new words, and other causes affecting articulation, produce, in time, great difference between the speech of distant places in an extensive country; but among nations of identic origin, there must long continue a close affinity of language. That the Celtic and Gothic are derived from the same source is evinced by many works of profound learning, and if a resemblance or connexion between them is still to be traced, the similarity must have been much more perceptible 2000 years ago. Thucydides says, that before Homer's time, there was no distinction known between the Greeks and those called Barbarians; that the whole inhabitants closely resembled each other in customs, manners, and language, and lived in a good understanding with each other.

The language of the Greeks and Thracians was anciently as much alike as their religion; and Orpheus, Musæus, with several other poets, celebrated as Greeks, were certainly Thracians.[j] Ovid says that the Getic language, although much altered, still retained evident marks of its Grecian original. Wachter shews that the Celto-Scyths, being the most ancient Germans, and the progenitors of the Goths, Saxons, and other nations, "their tongue, although from the mutations of ages now very much altered," must have originally been the Celtic language.[k] The Anglo-Saxon itself, derived from the Ingevones, "is the maritime daughter of Celtica, and the first born, from her

[i] M. Bullet, Memoir sur la langue Celtique, i. c. 4, says the difference of climate will alter a language.

[j] Orpheus is represented as a native of Thessaly, but this country was originally part of Thrace. Strabo.

[k] Glossarium Germannicum, Prefatio, c. xxviii.

nativity neither entirely similar, nor altogether unlike."[l] Schilter[m] and Gebelin[n] also prove this family connexion. "These vastly learned authors demonstrate, without intending it, that the Celtic and Teutonic languages had a common origin."[o] The similarity of the Greek and Teutonic has often been observed. This fact first struck Camden, Stephens, and Scaliger; but "Salmasius, Francis Junius, and Meric Casaubon, first inferred that the Greek and Gothic languages, which were so similar in many respects, must have come from a common parent;"[p] and this evidence of speaking the same tongue, may be acknowledged as one of the surest proofs of original descent.[q]

The Latin, which is composed, according to Dr. Smith,[r] of the Greek and the ancient languages of Italy, affords a less striking resemblance to the Gothic. The dialects of Italy were derived from the Celtic, but from the late formation of the Latin the affinity is less obvious: yet Quintillian observes, that among the words derived from other languages, those from the Gallic were most numerous, and gives several instances.[s] The grammatical construction of the old Latin was exactly similar to the Celtic. Thus, pennai, aulai, for pennæ, aulæ, in the genitive, is exactly the fionnai, malai,

[l] Ibid. Lingua Anglo Saxonica, cum sit ab Ingevonibus orta, filia est Celticæ maritima et primogenita, natalibus suis nec omnino similis, nec omnino dissimilis, c. xli. [m] Thesaurus Ant. Teutonicum.

[n] Monde primitif, ix. 41, 51. [o] Caledonia, i. p. 12. [p] Ibid.

[q] Clarke, on Coins, p. 77. The similarity of weights and measures offers to this intelligent writer an additional evidence of identic origin. A Mr. Kuithan recently published a work, to shew that not only were the Greek and German languages alike, but that the people were originally the same. Cluverius thinks the German is the purest relic of the Celtic.

[r] On the formation of language.

[s] Festus calls a Gallic chariot, Petoritum. Pedwar, Welch, is four, Rheda, wheel. This is noticed by Cluver, Dr. Murray, &c. Caterva, a legion; Cad, Gaëlic, an army; Turva, multitude, &c.

of the Gaëlic. In like manner the ablative was formed by the addition of d: pucnandod, prædad, now pugñando, præda, precisely resembling the cogadh, creachadh, of the Gaëlic,[t] in which it is to be observed that the final d is not sounded; and this quiescence in the old Latin is the apparent reason of its ultimate omission.

If the various languages which ancient authors speak of, were radically different, the number of nations and of races will be wonderfully increased. Mithridates, king of Pontus, is said to have learned twenty-two languages, that he might be able to converse with all his subjects; and Timosthenes says, that in a town of Colchis, three hundred nations, each of a different language, met to traffic;[u] but these accounts are at variance with the express testimony which we find, of the close affinity of the languages anciently spoken in Europe. We ought, in most cases, to understand dialect only, an inference that is justified by the writers themselves. Strabo, who gives the Alani, an inconsiderable people, twenty-six languages, tells us the Getæ and Daci, both very powerful nations, or rather the same people, had but one speech;[v] and represents the Gauls, whose three divisions, according to Cæsar, had peculiar and distinct languages, as differing little from each other in manners, and still less in speech.[w] St. Jerome says, the Galatians, who were undoubtedly Celts, besides the Greek, spoke the same language as the Treviri, a people of, or bordering on, Belgic-Gaul.[x] Herodotus says the Scythic nations resembled each other in their manners generally, but had parti-

[t] Report on the poems of Ossian, Appendix, p. 263.

[u] As quoted in Lewis's History of Britain, fol. 1729. When Diod. Sic. says of Hannibal's troops, that they differed as much in their humours as they did in their languages, are we to understand him literally?

[v] Lib. viii. [w] Lib. iv. [x] Comment. on Galatians, ii.

cular dialects, and that the Sauromatæ used the Scythic speech.[y] If this language had been radically different from that spoken in Western Europe, some traces of it would certainly have remained, but no specimen can be produced. The Gothic tongue undoubtedly sprang from the Celtic. Tacitus informs us, that in his time the Gothini spoke the Gallic language, and the Cimbri and Æstii used the British speech.[z] That it was Celtic, is beyond dispute. Reinerus Reineccius, an author of credit, who is quoted by Camden, affirms that both Gauls and Cimbri used the same speech;[a] which, indeed, appears from those authors who speak of the people as of the same race.

The Scythians, who were attacked by Darius, either spoke Gothic, or it cannot be admitted that either they or their descendants ever came into Europe. In this part of the world the Celtæ first arrived, "and supplied a language; then, in the course of thousands of years, came different tribes of the same people, the language of each radically the same as the first, but from the lapse of time somewhat changed."[b]

Nations that are favourably situated for commercial pursuits suffer a change in their language sooner than those who are inland and removed from intercourse with strangers. When manufactures and arts begin to excite the attention of mankind, there arise new ideas, and a necessity for new expressions. When the productions of one country become objects of desire to the inhabitants of others, the wants which are reciprocally supplied by the exchange of commodities increase with the facility of gratification; and hence, as the arts of civil life begin to be encouraged,

[y] Lib. iv. 117.
[z] De moribus Germanorum.
[a] Camden, Higgins, Lewis, &c.
[b] Higgins's "Celtic Druids," p. 62.

new words are required, and language undergoes a gradual and inevitable alteration. Thus the speech of a people who are in a state of progressive improvement becomes much changed in process of time. Polybius writes, that the Latin was then so different from what it had been in the time of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Valerius, who were consuls when the first treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians was made, that little of that document could be then understood.[c] But when a nation, on the contrary, is stationary in civilization, the language necessarily remains the same.

The Romans were always studious to introduce their language into all countries which were brought under their dominion;[d] but they would have been less successful in producing any change among the Gauls, had they not been able, at the same time, to establish a considerable commercial intercourse. These nations found a stimulus to their natural ingenuity, and a gratification to their avarice, of which they are said to have had a good share, by the advantages of a friendly intercourse and profitable trade with the luxurious Romans; and their partiality to the wines of Italy had, no doubt, a tendency to soften their characteristic dislike to innovation.

It is equally customary, even in these days, to call peculiar dialects by the name of languages, as it is to generalize various dialects under one denomination. The Gaëlic of Scotland, the Welch, the Irish, and the Manx, are considerably different from each other, and yet they are but dialects of the same speech, and the term Briton is common to the whole inhabitants of the island; yet the English,

[c] Lib. iii.

[d] "So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue." Gibbon.

the Scots, and the Welch are distinct people, and they all use the English language, (except in the Gaëlic parts;) but the dialects are, in some cases, so different, that they scarcely appear the same, and are, indeed, sometimes called different languages.*

The Yorkshire, and the west country dialects, have no great resemblance to that of Middlesex; nor is the speech of the people in the north like that used by the inhabitants of the southern provinces of Scotland.

Thus do we find a primæval race, arriving in Europe at some unknown and remote period, and filling with inhabitants a vast extent of territory. Different divisions of these aborigines acquired distinct names with appropriate possessions, and, in the lapse of ages, became dissimilar in manners, in colloquial idiom, and pronunciation. A due consideration of these apparently natural and certain effects of separation, may prevent much unsatisfactory argument, that bewilders and perplexes the mind, in the vain attempt to find distinct and various races of men, where all must have had a common origin. The Barbarians appeared to the early Greeks and Romans, who knew little of them, under different lights, and were viewed as consisting of many nations: when they came under more particular observation in later times, there *had* arisen differences sufficient to justify a national appellation.

There is, it must be confessed, a gloom around the early history of the Celts, which neither the writings of antiquity, nor the deepest investigations of modern ages, are able entirely to penetrate.

The faint light by which the Hyperborei, the Cimbri, the Scythæ, and the Celtæ are presented to our view, is

* "The Scotch is not to be considered a provincial dialect,—it is the language of a whole country,—the common speech of the whole nation in early life." Edinburgh Review, vol. xiii. p. 259.

clouded by fable, and obscured by the conjectures of credulity. The polished Greeks and Romans despised and contemned all who were without the pale of their own dominion. It was only when they wished to subjugate those barbarians, or were exposed to their furious inroads, that they deigned to notice them. Then, the savage manners, and strange appearance of these nations made a strong, and perhaps unjust, impression on those who were more civilized.[f] The desperate exploits of the enemy were related by those who witnessed them, with all the exaggeration which fear could suggest; and the wonderful recitals were, it may be safely presumed, often heightened by a desire to exalt the bravery and resolution of soldiers who had ventured to contend with such terrific assailants. The tremendous armies of the Cimbri and Teutones filled the Romans with the utmost terror and dismay, and people from whom they had so narrowly escaped utter destruction, were represented as almost supernatural. "No man," says Plutarch, "knew what they were, or from whence they came. They were of immense stature, with horrid countenances, speaking a language scarcely human. They advanced with a host that trod down, or swept all before them, and their howlings and horrid bellowings were like those of wild beasts."[g] Such expressions betray the trepidation of the Romans, increased by the boldness of an enemy, that, passing the Alps as if by miracle, presented themselves in the plains of Italy, and, marching towards Rome, threatened the speedy destruction of the empire.

[f] When the first alarm had subsided, their numerous hosts were often defeated by very inferior numbers. Their great strength, and native valour gave way to the strict discipline and military tact of the Greeks and Romans.

[g] Plutarch, of the Cimbrian war. Polyænus. Mil. Strat. viii. 10.

Yet it must be confessed, that there was abundant cause for terror, after making allowance for considerable overcharge in the picture.

The Cimbrians, it is further said by Plutarch, like the giants of old, tore up hills and massy rocks, and pulled up trees by the roots, to fill a river which they had to pass. Their women, too, who would rush into the thickest battle, and with their naked arms pull away the shields of the enemy, cutting them down with a sword or battle-axe, were not the least frightful part in the scene. Before such opponents, it is little cause of wonder that the Roman soldiers should not evince their accustomed bravery. It was with difficulty any man could be kept to his duty, and, as the panic increased, they began to desert their colours, and at last gave way in precipitate retreat.

CHAPTER II.

BRITAIN—THE ORIGIN OF ITS ANCIENT INHABITANTS HISTORICALLY DEDUCED.

Various suppositions have been formed respecting the period when Britain first became the residence of human beings. The fact cannot be ascertained, and it is not important to be known. That this island remained for many ages unoccupied by mankind, and perhaps undiscovered, while other parts of the world were teeming with population, is a reasonable belief. Tradition itself seems unable to reach a period so remote, yet it is alluded to in the works of the Welsh bards.

The Phœnicians, who were celebrated as maritime adventurers, are supposed to have been the discoverers of Britain, and to have traded hither in the most early ages.

It may not have been impossible for these people to establish a commercial intercourse with Britain "perhaps a thousand years before our era,"[a] but there appears to be no sufficient proof of the existence of so early a communication; and the Cassiterides, or Isles of Tin, for which metal they are said to have chiefly resorted, seem erroneously to be considered the Scillies off the Cornish coast. "No one writer of any Antiquity," says Ritson, "ever mentions that the Phœnicians traded to Cornwall for Tin." It is maintained, that they were well acquainted with Britain; but it is also confessed, that subsequent Historians and Geographers appear ignorant of this ancient correspondence. Dio says, the early Greeks and Romans did not so much as know there was such an island,[b] and to account for these inconsistencies, it has been ingeniously conjectured that the trade was given up, and the way to the island lost for a considerable time.

It has been asserted, that, at the period of this supposed intercourse, no part of the world produced Tin but the islands of Britain. Pliny mentions this metal as plentiful in Lusitania and Gallicia. Diodorus and Possidonius say that much tin was found in different parts of Spain; and Aristotle calls it Celtic, as a distinction from that of India. It was procured in great quantities from the islands which Pliny describes as lying in the ocean over against Celtiberia, and which from this production received the name *Cassiterides*. Ptolemy places them under "the situation of Tarraconia;" and Mela[c] says the islands, which for abundance of lead were so called, lay in the parts of

[a] Whittaker, Pinkerton, &c. M'Pherson and others suppose an earlier colonization. Carte fixes it 450, A. C.

[b] Aristotle, who flourished 350 years before Christ, speaks of it both as Albium and Brettania.—Buchannan. &c.

[c] Lib. iii. c. 6.

the Celtici, a people of Spain. Strabo also places them opposite to Celtiberia. They appear to have been the Azores or Western Islands, anciently the Hesperides, a term descriptive of their geographical situation; for that the Scillies were the isles of Tin, certainly appears doubtful. These islands are in number upwards of one hundred and forty, but of the others there are but nine or ten. The expression of Strabo, who says, in his second book, that Britain and these islands are without the pillars of Hercules, does not prove nor imply that they were near to each other.[d] They are, on the contrary, mentioned as perfectly distinct;[e] and the opinion of the single *insula Silura* of Solinus,[f] being the Cassiterides of the ancients, perhaps originated with Richard of Cirencester, who applies the appellation to the Scillies.[g] A recent visitor says he "could discover no traces of mines or minerals, whether ancient or modern, in them."[h] The historian of Cornwall confesses that the ancient workings which he believes he discovered, were "neither deep, nor many, nor large," and adopts the supposition of Ortellius, that the Cassiterides must have included Cornwall and Devonshire.

Mictis is supposed to be the Isle of Wight, where lead was also procured; but Pliny informs us, on the authority of Timæus, that it lay six days' sail from Britain.[i] Mictis was not therefore the Ictis of Diodorus, which lay so near to the English coast that it could, at low tide, be approached by land. Hither, therefore, he says the Britons conveyed the tin which they dug, from whence it was transported to Gaul.[j]

It appears, then, that Herodotus does not call these

[d] Lib. ii. p. 129. [e] Pliny, Diod, &c. [f] C. 22.
[g] He calls them Sygdiles. Borlase says the proper name is Sylleh.
[h] Campbell, in his ed. of Ossian. [i] Lib. iv. 16. [j] Lib. v. 2.

islands Cassiterides; but it is certain that Britain was known to both Greeks and Romans, some ages before it became an object of conquest to the latter people, and it may have been visited by adventurers in much more ancient times.[k] Little, however, can be elicited concerning the earliest history of European nations, from the dark and mysterious intimations of antiquity, the faint light of which is unable to guide us clearly through the wild dreams and fictions of ignorance, and credulity. If an enterprising navigator, at some distant period, had caught a sight of Britain or Ireland, the Orkneys, or the Shetland isles; the obscure and marvellous recitals of poets, and the inexplicable narrations and allegories of theology, would be conceived to have some allusion to the newly found, or long lost land; and the ingenuity of succeeding ages, when farther discoveries were made, readily applies the ambiguous descriptions of antiquity to places of which but an imperfect knowledge has been obtained. The conflicting and indefinite accounts are, consequently, reconciled and applied, as credulity or caprice may suggest.

The description of that island, which the Hyperborei are

[k] The author of Argonautica, who lived, it is believed, in the time of Pisistratus, about 570, A. C. speaks of Britain, or perhaps Ireland, under the name Iernis. From Plutarch, de defect. orac. the Elysium of the ancients appears to have been in the northern part of the island. Homer says, Ulysses, in his passage to the shades, touched at Caledonia, to which Tacitus, in Germania, alludes.—Pinkerton. Solinus says that an altar, inscribed with Greek characters, was to be seen in the north, which proved this, c. 22. The second Brennus, who led the Gauls into Greece, when Delphos was rifled, is thought by some writers to have been a Briton; and Lemon, in the preface to his English etymology, p. xxiii. § 5. seriously relates this as the cause of the ultimate invasion of this island. Joseph de Gorionides, "de Hannibale," says that general conquered the Britons, iii. 15. ap. Higgins, p. 80. But there were nations so called on the Continent.

said to have inhabited, can suit no other than Britain. The island lay opposite to Gaul, and was as large as Sicily. The people used their own proper language, worshipped in groves and circular temples, played on the harp, and led the most happy lives. They had a great esteem for the Greeks, with whom, from the most distant ages, they had maintained a correspondence arising from certain religious connexions, in consequence of which, it is said, some of that nation visited this sequestered land, leaving many presents to the Gods, and Greek inscriptions to commemorate their mission.[l]

Pytheas of Massilia, who lived before Aristotle, is said to have first discovered Britain, and Thule or Thyle, concerning which there is much uncertainty. This island is represented as some days' sail northwards from Britain, and should hence appear to be Shetland.[m] Agricola's fleet, we are told, saw Thule as they circumnavigated the island.[n] Mela describes it as opposite to the Belgian coast, a position in which Richard of Cirencester agrees, but strangely adds, that it lay beyond the Orkneys. Alfred, in his Saxon version of Orosius, says it lay northwest of Ireland, and was known by few. That island has itself been taken for Thule, and the term has been applied to the Western Islands of Scotland. Some have also contended that the name was given to the northern parts of that country.[o] That Thule, in any of these situations, could have been "large and copious in continual apples," as Solinus represents, is incredible. Saxo calls Iceland, Thylen, while

[l] Diodorus, who relates this from Hecatæus, a very ancient author, whose veracity, it must be observed, he seems to doubt.

[m] So d'Anville understands it. Strabo calls it six days' sail from Britain; Solinus five days and nights from Orkney.

[n] Vita Agricolæ.

[o] Essay concerning the Thule of the ancients, Edinburgh, 1693.

Procopius applies the term Thule to Scandinavia.[p] Perhaps the name was given to the land which was believed the farthest towards the north, and transferred to the islands successively discovered. It has been, indeed, conjectured that there were formerly some isles between the continent and Scotland that have been long since lost. The Saxonum Insulæ of Pliny are believed to have disappeared, in consequence of some natural convulsion, and the fact of Heligoland having been several ages ago reduced to half its size, is adduced in support of this hypothesis.[q] The Welsh poems record the formation of Anglesea and many other islands by a dreadful inundation, and the island Plada, which seems at no distant period to have been disjoined from Arran, carries in its name a proof of this disruption. Bladh, is a part, and Bladham, I break.

The singular phenomena produced by the refraction and reflection of light on fogs arising from the sea, lakes, or morasses, are well known. Appearances of this kind have deceived experienced navigators, who confidently believed they saw islands in the distant ocean, and it is by no means improbable that ancient mariners may have had their senses so imposed on. The illusion is sometimes so complete that you may behold, with the most perfect resemblance to nature, picturesque landscapes, towns, castles, &c., and that some such appearance gave rise to the idea of a happy and fruitful country, the abode of the blessed, can scarcely be doubted. This "fairy land" was situated in the western ocean, and was familiar to the inhabitants of these islands, being denominated Flathinis and Hybrasil by the Scots and Irish.[r] One of these phenomena was seen, it is said, in the Atlantic, in the ninth century; and so convinced were sea-

[p] Pinkerton's Enquiry, i.

[q] Ibid. i. 204.

[r] The Saxon Cockaigne seems to have been the same island which was

men of the existence of one or more fertile and romantic islands, remote from all other land, that they have actually, it appears, been placed on maps.*

Had so singular an appearanced been notice in ancient times, it might, in some degree, account for the wonderful stories concerning the British islands, and the confusion respecting the Thule of antiquity.

At what period Britain became inhabited, and from what particular district of the continent the first colonists arrived, are equally unknown and open to conjecture. While some writers believe it probable that the first inhabitants arrived a thousand years before Christ, others suppose a much earlier migration hither. Parties from the coast of Gaul may have occasionally visited the island for the purpose of hunting, before permanent settlements were formed; and, even after colonies had established themselves, a long time must have been required to people the whole island.

Bréttania is first mentioned by Aristotle, and Brittia is the term generally used by the ancients. It appears to be the second name, and is derived by Whittaker from the Welsh, Brython, divided; the Gaëlic Breac, striped or chequered, Brezonec, the appellation of Armorica, the name Brigantes, Allo-Broges, &c., being all related. Mac Pherson derives the name from Braid, extensive, In, land, Clarke from Braitoin, top of the waves; and the etymology of another writer is equally simple, but less probable: Stackhouse gives Bre, a hill, Ton, a dwelling; Bretheim, in an-

also known to the French and Spaniards by other names. See "the western wonder, or O'Brazeel, an enchanted island," 4to. 1674.

* This singular effect of *mirage* on the sands of the coasts in the western isles is noticed in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal for Dec. 1827. The Highlanders call it Dun na feadhreágh, fairy castles. Some remarkable appearances of this kind were seen near Youghal, in Ireland, in 1796, 1797, 1801, &c.

cient Celtic and German, is said, by Wolfgang, to signify a residence; but Borlase asserts that no British word begins with B as a radical.

The Britons, like the continental Celts, were ignorant of their origin, and believed themselves indigenous, a proof that they could not have recently arrived. Diodorus considered them as natives of the soil; but Tacitus, more correct, was of opinion that the first inhabitants came from the opposite coasts of the Continent. Cæsar represents the inhabitants of the maritime parts as adventurers from Gaul, and those of the interior only as aborigines, according to their own tradition. The Cumri, whom the Welsh Triads make the first colonists, are otherwise believed to have been the second, and of a different race. That they were not, may appear from what has already been said;[t] and whether they proceeded from Aquitain, as some conjecture, from Tacitus,[u] or from Belgic-Gaul, the only essential difference between these nations and the Celts consisted in name and local position. The aboriginal inhabitants of Britain must have been Celtic, for that race anciently possessed the whole of continental Europe. These Cumri could not have been a very large colony, or have occupied much greater extent of territory than Wales, for the appellation was not applied to other Britons. According to the best Welsh Antiquaries, they came in on the Guydhel, as they term the primitive inhabitants, whose name proves their derivation from the great race who peopled the

[t] "No Cimbri ever landed here, except Gauls, so called. Those who broke into Greece appear to have been called Galli, Celtæ, Cimmerii, and Cimbri."—Gen. Hist. of the Britons, p. 47. "No one has any right to it (Britain) but the Cumri, for they first took possession, and before that time there were no persons living in it."—Ancient Welsh Laws. Hu Cadarn brought hither the first Cumri.

[u] Who perceived a likeness between the Silures and Iberians.

western world. The period when the Cumri arrived is unknown. If the term was "the hereditary name of the Gauls," and "the common appellation of all the tribes of Britain," it is in vain to look for a colony bearing it as a proper and peculiar name. When the island was gradually filling with inhabitants from the redundant population of Gaul, various successive arrivals undoubtedly took place. The Triads mention the Lloegrwys, who came from Gwasgwn or Gascony, as the next settlers, from whom the Welsh denominate the English Lloegr; but in less doubtful history, the Belgæ appear to have succeeded the Cumri, who had been so long in the island that they were considered, as they have styled themselves, the ancient Britons.

The Belgians are said to have arrived here three centuries and a half before the epoch of Christianity, and that about this period there existed a connexion between the two countries, is very probable. Divitiacus, king of the Suessiones, a Belgic tribe, who was alive in Cæsar's time, had a certain sovereignty in Britain,[v] which he visited, enlarging his dominions by the subjection of great part of the southern districts of England.

When Julius Cæsar meditated his descent, there subsisted a considerable intercourse between Britain and the continent, by means of which he sought information respecting the country and its inhabitants; but it does not appear that he obtained very accurate knowledge of either. The merchants who traded with the natives were the parties to whom he chiefly addressed himself; but their personal knowledge of the island did not, probably, extend to any considerable distance from the ports to which they resorted, and the natives, we may believe, were not disposed to be very communicative.

[v] Bello Gal. ii. c. 4.

When the Romans landed in Britain they found the maritime parts on the south possessed by the Belgæ, who were neither a race distinct from the Celtæ, nor did they speak a language "altogether different." A better climate, and a degree of commercial intercourse, produced a melioration of condition; but we have no reason to believe that these advantages had very materially encreased the difference between the southern and inland tribes at the period now under review. Diodorus simply remarks that those who inhabited the promontory of Balerium, (Cornwall,) were more civilized and courteous to strangers than the rest of the population, by reason of their intercourse with foreign merchants. The Britons, like the Gauls their progenitors, bore a general resemblance in language, religion, manners, and customs, the strong and indubitable proofs of a common origin. The local appellations throughout the territories which they inhabited decidedly evince that "the British Belgæ were of Celtic lineage."[v] A Gothic colonization is, nevertheless, said to have taken place when the Belgæ established themselves on this side the channel.[w] It has been shewn that this people were but a division of the Gauls, and not to be confounded with the nations of Getia. Three hundred and thirty-four years before our era, the Scyths were not in western Europe, but remained on the shores of the Euxine, and the Gothic migrations from the east began about two hundred years afterwards. The Goths first came into notice as a fierce and powerful people in A. D. 250, before which time they were little known to the Romans, and their empire on the Danube was not formed until A. D. 328. Previous to the descent of Cæsar, these nations were still about the Euxine, at which time Britain had been fully peopled by the Celtæ; and the silence of

[w] Pinkerton.

history attests that no important migration of the Goths had hitherto taken place.

It becomes, therefore, certain that the first inhabitants of Britain were alike Celts, resembling those on the opposite coasts of Gaul, for, on the arrival of the Romans, the language, the religion, and customs of both countries were similar.* Had there, on the contrary, arrived a people, different in their manners, and so entirely distinct from the Celts, that "no tongues could be more different," some remains of that tongue would surely have existed to prove the event. The prevalence of their language seems to demonstrate that the Goths at some time came into the north and west of Europe; but had they moved in a considerable body, or settled otherwise than by a quiet and amicable migration, some authentic memorial of the circumstance must have remained. The Gothic tribes do not appear to have left their native seats earlier than perhaps a century before the time of Cæsar, when Britain was stored with a Celtic population. At this time, the aboriginal race of Gauls were fast yielding to the impressions of civilization—alterations in their language had taken place—the unmixed Celts were gradually confined to the west of Europe, and those to the eastward were becoming Gothicised.

The Triads bring several other colonies hither at different times—the Brython from Lhydaw or Bretagne being the next in order of time to the Lloegrwys, and both were of Cumraeg origin. It is impossible to ascertain the periods when these tribes established themselves in Britain, but it is certain that the various Colonists were all equally Celtic and similar to the natives of Gaul. Such were the inhabitants whom Cæsar found fifty-five years before the epoch of Christianity, and the population was still Celtic when

* Cæsar, Tacitus, &c.

the Romans finally left the island five hundred years afterwards.[y]

The Belgæ, who possessed the whole south coast of England from Kent to Cornwall, resembled the inhabitants of the continent more strongly than those tribes who lived in the interior, and who were thought by themselves, and believed by others, to have been e terra nati, or indigenous.

Every succeeding colony obtaining a peaceable settlement, or, establishing itself by force of arms, remained in the vicinity of those parts where it first landed; and the former inhabitants falling back, became confined to the interior. The most ancient residents of Britain were thus gradually forced to the west and north by successive arrivals from Gaul, and finally rested in Scotland, in Ireland, and in the mountainous regions of Wales.

When the Romans penetrated northwards to SCOTLAND, they found the people of the same Celtic race as those of the south, but much more rude and uncivilized, being, in every probability, the remains of the aborigines, who were forced northwards by successive arrivals from the Continent. It is a strong proof in favour of this hypothesis, that the ancient Scots always retained the name of ALBANICH, inhabitants of Alban, or Albion, the first appellation by which Britain was known, and that their descendants, the present highlanders, invariably continue its use. Another argument of some weight is found in the fact that there exist in Wales certain words, used not only as local names but in common discourse, which are only referable to the Gaëlic of Scotland; and a current tradition is also found among the Welsh, that the Scots or Irish anciently inhabited their country. The Welsh call both these

[y] "At the Roman abdication in 446, there was only one race of men in Scotland."—Caledonia.

people Guydhel, or Guidhil, the appellation by which they distinguish the aboriginal inhabitants to whom the Cumri succeeded; and this word, the dh being quiescent, is evidently the same as Gaël, the term by which the native Scots have been always known, and which is certainly derived from the ancient general name of the whole Celtic race.[z]

It was not until the successful campaign of Agricola that the Romans discovered the Scotish tribes, or obtained a knowledge of their country. The Imperial troops advanced sufficiently far to arouse the natives to a sense of their danger—to a general confederation—to a sanguinary and protracted, but successful, struggle for their independence.

The most powerful tribe at that time, in the northern division of the island, was the Caledonian, which had the leading of the war, and, according to the accustomed polity of the Celts, gave name to the whole association. Lucan is the first who mentions this people, whom he places in Kent. Tacitus, the elegant historian of Agricola's life, is the first who shews the situation of the Caledonians of Scotland. If the etymon which identifies this word with Guydhel or Gaël, is just, the name may possibly have been applied to different tribes; but Lucan is believed to be in error, and has apparently misled Richard of Cirencester, who places Caledonian woods in Kent and Lincolnshire.

Mr. Whittaker, adducing Florus, who also speaks of the Caledonian woods in Kent, Sussex, &c. says, from Guidhil, a wood, came Gaeldoch, woodlandish, applied to those

[z] The Welsh do not denominate either nation Cumri. The Irish language is less similar to ancient or modern Welsh than it is to the Gaëlic of Scotland.—Dr. M'Pherson. The Irish, however, from Vallancey, Coll. Reb. x. lib. iv., seem not inclined to admit that they are Gauls.

[a] Pharsalia, iii. v. 67-8.

who inhabit "the precincts of an extensive forest," a term of which the Romans made Caledonia. This is ingenious, but it does not appear that "Caledon" hence "became the national appellation for all woods of the Galli in Britain."[b] Buchannan's etymology is *Calden*, Gaëlic, a hazel tree, and hence the name of the wood from which the country was called Caledonia; but this great author is corrected by Dr. M'Pherson, who observes that Caultin, and not Calden, is a hazel.

The Highlanders have always been known as Gaël, and their native country they have always termed Gaëldoch, the land of the Gaël.[c] The G has usually the sound of C, which brings it nearer to the primitive Celt, from which it is unquestionably derived; and whether it signifies the fair men,[d] the hardy or strong men,[e] the borderers,[f] the men of the woods,[g] the fugitives,[h] the hill-dwellers, &c. &c. &c. there appears no room to doubt that the Celtic Gaël was the root of the Latin Caledonii.

The Caledonians who led the united Gaël to battle at the Grampians, possessed a great extent of territory. It comprised all the country from the firths of Forth and Clyde to the hills of Balnagowan in Ross.

This powerful nation continued to inhabit the same province;[i] but other tribes came afterwards into notice, and,

[b] Hist. Manch. 415, Hist. of the Britons, and authorities. Another Antiquary of some celebrity maintains that no region was called Caledonia but the northern.—Pinkerton.

[c] M'Pherson in Ossian.—Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, &c. The word is Gaidhealtachd, in Gaëlic orthography.

[d] Cluverius, Germ. Ant. i. 14.

[e] Kaled, British, hard, Kaledion, a hardy, rough people.—Camden. Pasumont de l'origine des mots Celte et Gaul, 1765, says Celt is robur.

[f] Cilydion, British, Borderers. Lhuyd. [g] Buchannan and Whittaker.

[h] Cyliad, profugam. Buxhorn, in Ant. Brit.

[i] Dio speaks of them, about 230, as the only nation beyond the walls,

from the honour of conducting different campaigns, alternately appear in the annals of their country, and engross the praise that various clans were entitled to share. The CALEDONIANS, the PICTS, the SCOTS, and the MEATS successively stood forth to contend for their national liberty, or conduct inroads on the territories of their enemies, and hence the whole country appears to have been divided among a few powerful nations; but from the Tweed to Caithness, there were no less than twenty-one different tribes of Celtæ; and when the Romans abandoned the island, Scotland was occupied solely by this primeval race.

This division of Britain had not, however, at this epoch, received that appellation by which it has been since known. The term was imposed by others, but has never been recognised by the native inhabitants, in whose language the original name of the country has been always retained. They disown the name of Scots,—they disclaim foreign extraction,—they acknowledge themselves Albanich, inhabitants of Albion,—an appellation which to this day is given them by the Irish, who receive and appropriate, with justice, the designation Gaël Eirinach, Irish Celts.[k]

Every probability is in favour of the opinion that the first colonies from Gaul were settled in Britain. The world might have rested satisfied with the rational belief that Ireland, appearing, ever since it came under the notice of the Historian, in a state of civilization, much inferior to its sister island, could not have been peopled by a more refined or polished race than the Celts; but Phœnician records, and other indubitable proofs of Milesian and Heremonian dynasties of glorious splendour, impart very different ideas of its ancient condition.

in the vicinity of which dwelt the Meats, who were only inferior to the Caledonians in power. Lib. lxxvi. c. 12.

[k] Caledonia. Critical Diss. &c.

It does not appear to me that the honour of both countries is so deeply implicated in the simple fact of earliest inhabitation. If the people who first took possession of Ireland passed over from Scotland, they are yet to be ranked with the most ancient, and therefore the most noble Celts, as Galgacus called the Caledonians, who had indignantly retired, to protect their independence in the extremity of the land; for, in consequence of successive invasions from the Continent, the Irish were, probably, at first compelled to cross the channel. The Highlanders are justly proud of being descended of the unconquered tribes; but, honourable as this is, others may think that little credit is to be derived from having left their native seats and allowed themselves to be confined to the mountains.

The Scots are first mentioned towards the end of the third century, by Porphyry. They are noticed by Ammianus Marcellinus in 360; are spoken of by Claudian about 390, and are generally supposed to have been first settled in Ireland. As the northern part of Britain did not anciently bear the name of Scotland, but was certainly called Hibernia, an inveterate, and apparently interminable war, between the Scots and Irish Antiquaries has long subsisted, and the disputants have advanced so much in defence of their respective systems, that any farther investigation of the subject is peculiarly uninviting. It appears from Strabo,[l] Pomponius Mela,[m] Ptolemy,[n] &c. that the northern division of Britain was considered as a separate island, a belief that long continued, and has proved a copious source of national controversy.

The early accounts of Hibernia are suitable to Scotland, but cannot with any propriety be applied to Ireland: at the same time, that island was not unknown, as is apparent

[l] Lib. ii. iv v. &c. [m] De orbis situ. [n] Syntaxis, ii. 6.

from Cæsar, Diodorus, and others. It has been attempted to restrict the first writer's description to the Scotish Hibernia, but apparently without reason. The ancients had certainly a very inaccurate knowledge of these islands, and great confusion arose upon the full discovery that Britain was an entire island, from which Ireland, situated towards the west, was perfectly distinct.[o] When this had become well known, whatever had been said concerning Hibernia, or North Britain as an island, was naturally appropriated to Ireland, to which alone it appeared applicable, the more so, from the similarity of the native word Iern,[p] or according to the Greek form Juverna, to the appellation Hibernia, which appears to have been bestowed on Scotland from its wintry climate, for Strabo describes it as "north of Britain, and the boundary of the habitable part of the globe, where the savage inhabitants could scarcely live for cold." He also says its distance from Gaul is upwards of 600 miles, an error that he could hardly have committed if his Hibernia was Ireland, for it is not 100 miles from the continent. It is evident that Ptolemy had once the same idea concerning these islands which he was able latterly to correct. In Scotland, a noted station of the Romans called Hierna,[q] and locally situated in Strath Erne, added to the misunderstanding, that was yet farther increased by the erection of the walls, which being drawn across the country

[o] See Goodall, in prefat. ad Fordun, i. ii. iii. &c.

[p] It was called Iern, Iernis, and Iris by the most ancient writers, and does not appear to have been called Hibernia before the time of Cæsar. The former is evidently the original word, which, according to Bochart, is Phœnician, and implies the farthest land. This agrees with the Gaëlic Iar-in, western island, and it is known that these two languages were anciently much alike. Lemon, in his Etymology, says from Ibh, west, comes Iber, Iberia, &c. applied to those countries situated towards the setting sun, or in the direction of that luminary, when it is *eve*.

[q] Now Strageth. Roy's Military Antiquities, p. 128.

from sea to sea, as the boundaries of the provinciated and unsubdued Britons, kept alive the idea of two islands; the first division being called Britannia Romana, and the other Britannia Barbaria.

Gildas, who calls the first "the Island," and "the Roman Island," terms the Scots and Picts "transmarini;" which Bede, who also speaks of "the Island" and "Britannica," as the southern part explains: "I have called them foreign nations," says he, "not because they live beyond Britain, but because they are remote from that part possessed by the Britons; two gulphs intervening, though they do not unite,"[r] and thus he continues to speak as if there were two islands, when it was well known there was but one. Foreign writers, who only consulted the ancient authors, propagated the error from their own ignorance, and those in subsequent times, who were better informed, have been consequently astonished to read of the island of Scotland.

Fordun, Buchannan, and various other historians, have remarked that the term Britannia was applied to the Roman part only, for the Picts and Caledonians are not denominated Britons, but are called their enemies.[s] Those enemies lived in "the barbarous island," an appellation, which it may be presumed the Irish Antiquaries will with little reluctance allow the Scots to appropriate to their own country, which was that part not subject to the Romans, the inhabitants of which were reckoned "foreign nations," or those beyond the province. From a supposition that the Friths on the west and east coasts intersected the country, the idea of two islands first arose. It was the enterprising Agricola who ascertained that "the tide of both seas stretched an immense way to the interior, but were prevented from joining by a narrow neck of land."

[r] Hist. Eccles. [s] Eumenius, Panegyr. ad Constant. xvi.

Abraham Peritsol repeatedly mentions the island Scotland, believing, as Hide his translator remarks, that the Tweed made two separate islands.[u] In the British Museum is a map, originally constructed in 1479, which represents Scotland as completely insulated from the æstuaries of the Forth and Clyde; and it is so represented in the cosmography of Peter Apianus, published at Antwerp in 1545, although "expurgated" from error. Richard of Cirencester, better informed respecting this part of the kingdom, but still impressed with a belief in two islands, separates the country at the chain of lakes where the great Canal now is, carrying the Varar quite through from sea to sea, and placing the Caledonians in the farther division, that they might remain, as the ancients described them, in a distinct island.[v]

The name Hibernia was therefore originally applied to North Britain, and subsequently transferred to Ireland, or restricted to it, when the former country began to be called by its proper name, Albany, although it continued at the same time occasionally to receive the former appellation. In the Roman Martyrology, Saint Bean, who died in 1015, is styled "Episcopus Abredoniæ in Hybernia;" and this prelate was most assuredly a Scotsman, for it cannot affect the question that the Bishop's seat was first established at Mortlach, and subsequently removed to Aberdeen.

In the age of Alfred, the northern parts of Britain were called Ireland by mariners,[w] and the Highlanders were termed Hybernenses even in 1180. From this mutation of names, the Scandinavian writers are supposed by Pinkerton to have confounded Scotland with Ireland.

[u] Itinera Mundi, c. 7 & 12.

[v] See the engraved maps in Henry's Hist. of Britain, Pinkerton's Enquiry, &c.

[w] Barrington's Orosius, in Caledonia, i. 338.

That the Scots were the primæval people of the island, and not recent settlers, does not seem to admit of dispute, and the appellation by which they were known must have originated with others, for it has never been acknowledged by those who are the remains of the ancient inhabitants. Albanach and Clan n' Alban are the terms, as has been observed, which they appropriate, and derive from the original name of the whole island, but which afterwards became restricted to a part only, and is now confined to the district of Braidalban.*

The Descriptio Albaniæ informs us that the region which was *corruptly* called Scotia, formerly bore the name of Albania, Argyle being part of it; and the Bishops of St. Andrews, it is known, were formerly styled Bishops of Albany. About the end of the sixth century the term Scotia began to supersede the ancient appellation, but the inhabitants continued to use Albany in their own language, and in Latin. In the work of Hegesippus on the destruction of Jerusalem, which Sir George Mackenzie thinks is of the time of Hadrian, about 127, but John F. Gronovius asserts to be of the age of Theodosius, 395, Josephus tells the Jews that the mountains of Scotland tremble at the Roman name, which seems to be the first time the word is used.

Bede states that Aidan and his successors, Bishops of Iona, who preached the gospel to the Northumbrians, came from Scotland, in which country that island was certainly then as it is now. Alcuin and Eginhart, who wrote in the end of the eighth century, use this name, but the Irish apply all these passages to their own country; and Pinkerton, with his usual confidence, maintains that "there is not one authority for the name of Scotland before the eleventh century."

* The Albani of the Romans inhabited Braidalban, the west parts of Perth, and east parts of Argyleshire.

Usher made a similar assertion, contending that Prosper and others, who distinguish the country of the Scots from Britain, speak of Ireland. Palladius, who was ordained by Pope Cœlestine as the first Bishop of the Scots, is said by the Irish to have been sent to them. This missionary came into Scotland and was buried at Fordun in the Merns,[y] where *Paldy* fair is still held, and where his shrine continued an object of pilgrimage till the Reformation. The "reges Scottorum," with whom Charlemagne corresponded,[z] are asserted to have been kings of Ireland; and those who admit the authenticity of the celebrated League, affirm that it was made with the Irish reguli, for which I believe no authentic proof has ever been produced.[a] Two or three Scots Kings lived in the long reign of Charles; and if these are not the princes from whom he received letters, which of the Irish regalities did he honour by his alliance? The annals of that country do not appear to recognise any such correspondence, but successive treaties between Scotland and France, alluding to leagues ratified in the most distant times,[b] and the Scotish guard which remained until a recent period, prove the ancient connexion of the two countries;—nay, Sir George Mackenzie says the original league, formed in 791, was discovered in an old register at Paris.

Scoti and Albani were anciently synonimous, and Scoti and Hiberni were indiscriminately used; but that this last term was exclusively applied to the Irish is certainly false. When Ammianus speaks of the Romans defeating the Scots in Ierne, must we not understand Caledonia, with the inhabitants of which the Romans fought, but had nei-

[y] Brev. Abredonensis.

[z] Eginhart, vita et gestæ Karoli magni, p. 138, ed. Francofurti.

[a] Irsih Histories. Chalmers, in Caledonia, i. 463, &c. &c.

[b] Letter of the Scots Nobility to the King of France in 1308, &c.

their wars with the Irish, nor ever invaded their country. We must in the same way explain the passage in Goriomides where the Romans are said to have reduced the Hiberni to subjection.[d]

Gildas, in relating the devastation of Romanized Britain by the Scots and Picts, uses an expression which, however translated, does not fix the residence of these nations in Ireland. "Revertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores Hyberni domum," is usually rendered, "the impudent Hybernian robbers therefore return home;" and this home, if it is proved that Scotland formerly received the appellation, must have been the "icy Hibernia," whence they had advanced. But if the passage should be, as Gale, Bertram, and others, read from ancient MSS., "ad hibernas domos," to their winter habitations, it is a more satisfactory proof that the Scots who invaded the province were not Irish.

Henry of Huntingdon says, that Cæsar sent his legions "in Hiberniam," but as this cannot mean Ireland, where neither that commander nor his troops ever were, hiberna, winter quarters, is substituted by Antiquaries as the proper word. So the "hibernique Getæ" of Propertius, instead of alluding to the people of Ireland, is believed merely to characterise the Getians as living in a wintry latitude. If Bede uses Hiberni and Scoti for Irish only, how can it be reconciled with his explanation of "transmarini"?

The name of Scots was common to the Irish Gaël as well as to those of Albany;[e] and this general application of the term has greatly perplexed the ancient history of Scotland, —"the confusion which it has introduced is eternal and irremediable." It seems, however, certain that Ireland received its first population from Albion. Diodorus says,

[c] See an article in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. [d] Lib. vi. 17. [e] Gir. Cambrensis.

Iris was inhabited by Britons; and Richard of Cirencester informs us that the Scots of that island were those who were forced, on the arrival of the Belgs, to leave their native country. Most of these emigrants, it is probable, passed over from Scotland, where the two islands approximate so closely; and of which the similarity in dialect, and some other circumstances, according to Sir William Petty,[f] are evidence.

An intimate connection has existed from the most remote times between the people of both countries, who were related by intermarriages, and whose language and customs were, for ages, perfectly alike; but the intercourse which has always continued between the adjacent parts of Scotland and Ireland, affords no proof that Albany received its inhabitants from "the western land."

The Irish extract of the Scots is, notwithstanding, very keenly contended for by many able writers, and the arguments are chiefly founded on the ambiguous use of the term Hiberni, and the History of the Kingdom of Dalriada, or that of the Scots before the seat of government was transfered from Argyle to the Low Country. Bede tells us the Scots arrived from Ireland in that part of the West Highlands now called Argyle, where they settled under Reuda or Riada, and were from him denominated Dalreudini, being the *first* Scots who ever were in Britain. This is the venerable ecclesiastic's account, in which he is not corroborated by any authorities equally respectable. Tighearnach, the Ulster Annals, Flan of Bute, and other ancient historians and documents, are silent respecting this expedition. The district where the colony established itself was denominated Ergadia, or Argathel, a word apparently derived from Iar Gaël, the western Celts. The Irish call

[f] Political Anatomy of Ireland.

the inhabitants simply the Gaël of the hills, or high country, which they designate as Ard na n' Gaodhal, the heights of the Gaedhelians, and have never applied to these people their own appellation Eirinach, which Dr. M'Pherson has well remarked no Highlander has ever yet called himself.

The Scots are represented by Eumenius and Sidonius Appollinaris as one of the nations with whom Cæsar contended. Alfred, in his version of Orosius, says, Severus often fought with Picts and Scots; and Fabius Ethelwerd says, that Claudius was opposed by these nations, a sufficient proof of their antiquity in this country. The Irish were called both Scoti and Gaidheli; but the Scots of Ireland are distinguished from those of Britain, who were otherwise denominated Hiberni, a term that was also common to the people of Ulster. Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, from whom Cambrensis had his information, told him that the people of Argyle were called Hybernenses, and their country Arregathel "quasi margo Scottorum seu Hybernensium."[g] Bede calls this part of the country "the province of the Northern Scots," from which it may appear that these people were to be found elsewhere. Orosius calls the inhabitants of Anglesea, Scots, which Buchannan notices. All the Irish were not Scoti, but the Dalriads are so called by Bede, Adamnan, and others; and Giraldus Cambrensis informs us it was applied as a *special* name. from other authorities, we find that these people were also known as Albanach.

The first arrival of the Scots in Argyle is said to have taken place in 258;[h] but it is more generally believed to have happened later. We find that, about 210, a settlement was formed by the Picts in the North of Ireland, which Bede considers as their original seat; and in this part of the

[g] Descriptio Albaniæ. [h] Pinkerton's Enquiry.

island there was a little kingdom called Dalriada, which comprised the present county of Antrim and some neighbouring districts, and is allowed to have been subject to the British Scots until it was at last annexed to the kingdom of Ulster.

It is acknowedged that Caledonii, Picti, Albani, and Scoti were synonimous appellations, or nearly so. It is not, therefore, very evident that "in the time of Bede only the Dalriads were properly Scots;" it is still less apparent that they were Irish. The Picts of Ireland, and it should seem of Scotland also, were termed Crutheni, or Cruithnich, a word implying corn, or wheat eaters, in allusion to their practice of agriculture. The former were established in a little principality, between which and the kingdom in Scotland there was kept up a friendly intercourse. O'Conner says that the connexions between the Crutheni of Scotland and Cairbre Riada being renewed, he obtained a settlement among them. Bede says the Dalriads took possession partly through force, partly through favour. The Albanic Duan intimates that it was by "a high hand," that they established themselves, but other authorities inform us that they were invited over.

From the name of the leader of the first colony, the territories where it settled are said to have acquired the name Dal-Riada, the tribe of Riada, an etymology that does not very well agree with the idiom of the Gaëlic language, and that otherwise is objectionable. We find it in the ancient annals written Dalaroidh, &c.

Loarn, the name of one of the kinglets into which Argyle was divided by Fergus Mac Eirc, is said to have been derived from that of his brother; but it appears under the form of Lora or Lori, which otherwise occurs as an ancient local name.

It is evident from both Scots and Irish records, that those

who were known as Dalriads, and had been long settled in Argyle, were driven to Ireland on some occasion, about 440 or 446; and this circumstance, coinciding with the supposed entire expulsion of the Scots, has increased the confusion in this part of our history, and strengthened the belief in the Irish extract of the Scots nation.

That the Scots were utterly expelled from North Britain, as represented, is certainly untrue. The Roman Historians, and the national Chronicles, instead of showing that the Picts and Scots were at variance, or that the one nation had been expatriated, prove that they continued faithful allies, acting in confederation against the Romans and provinciated Britons, during the period of this pretended banishment. And here again appears a proof that the Dalriads were not the only Scots in Britain. Those, however, who sent them out of the country were obliged to bring them back at some period; and, if the national annals are allowed to be authentic, the return and accession of Fergus to the throne took place in the year 403; but those who have critically investigated Scots' history reject this epoch, and contend that this prince and his brother Loarn returned from Ireland an hundred years later, and reigned jointly, until the death of the latter left Fergus sole king of the province.

The Scots appear neither as exiles nor a subjugated people, during the period when they are said to have been in banishment. When Vortigern invited the Saxons to assist him with their forces, it was chiefly to protect him from the Scots,[1] but the Dalriadæ were certainly at first an insignificant community, although they afterwards became of more note, and, by their connexion with the Pictish royal family, they finally perpetuated the race of their own princes in the

[1] Nennius.

line of Scots' Kings. The Highlanders call Achaius, or Achadh, who reigned more than fifty years before the subversion of the Pictish kingdom, the king of Albany.[j]

Numerous etymologies have been given of the name Scot, which is thus seen to have been borne by the inhabitants of both countries. Its similarity to that of the Scythæ is striking, and has determined many to derive the Scots direct from Scythia. It is rather probable that those people, so remote from each other, bore a name which was expressive in the primitive language of Europe, but was somewhat varied in the primitive dialects. Florus writes to Hadrian, who was in Caledonia, that he would not wish to suffer Scythic frosts; and Nennius uses both Scythæ and Scotti indifferently: Porphyry also, in some old editions, has Scithica gentes.

The name of the numerous people on the continent who were known as Skythæ, has been, with the appearance of certainty, deduced from the Nomadic state in which they lived, and the similarity of this appellation to the Scuite of the Seanachies is apparent.

In the extensive regions which the former people inhabited, pasturage was the sole occupation. There were no towns; but the people moved about continually with their cattle, having no settled residence. Herodotus says, "they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a pastoral life;" nay, some of them, he declares, were destitute even of tents, dwelling in summer "each man under his own tree."[k] He afterwards observes, that the Callipidæ, one of their nations, did raise corn, but it was not to eat, but sell. Strabo considers Scythæ and Nomades synonimous terms.[l]

[j] Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders. [k] Lib. ii.

[l] "Gentes uno prius nomine omnes vel Scythæ vel Nomades (ut ab Homero) appellabantur." i. 48. Falconer's ed. Chœrilus, celebrating

In the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, they remained in the same vagrant state of existence, when the Scots of these islands had become well known. "Some few of the Scyths," says this author, "feed on corn and fruits, but all in general wander over the wilds. Their wives, their children, their furniture and houses, if they can be so termed, are on waggons, covered with bark, and they remove them at their pleasure, whithersoever they think fit." The Scots, in like manner, are characterized by the same Ammianus, as wandering up and down, without any fixed place of abode; and the description is agreeable to the account that Nicæus gives of them. Hence the propriety of the name Scuite, "the wandering nation," by which the Seanachies distinguish those Gaedhelians who had no fixed residence, for they made use of both appellations.[m] The original word in Ossian is Scuta, which literally signifies, "restless wanderer."[n]

That these people were not a particular tribe or nation, is evinced from the expression "Scoticæ gentes;" and they ranged about at times with the ATTICOTS,[o] or Attascots, as some read, who appear from the annals of Ireland to have been also in that country, and who are supposed to have been the Dalriads.

The name of Scot was apparently given to that part of the population of both Scotland and Ireland, which re-

Alexander's expedition, characterizes the Sacæ as "fond of pastoral life." Bryant's Analysis of Ancient Mythology, iii. 547.

[m] Ogygia. [n] Carthon.

[o] Porphyry, whose observation gives no reason to believe they were considered a recent nation in the third century. "The Attacots," says Marcellinus, "a warlike band, and the Scots, wandering up and down, committed great depredations." xxvii. c. 7. The name seems derived from Attich, inhabitants, coed, of the woods. Those who live in the woods are at this day called, by the Highlanders, dwellers of the woods. Dr. M'Pherson.

mained pastoral and unsettled, and was not a term of reproach, as some conceive, but an honourable appellation. It was only those who possessed numerous flocks, and were able to traverse the country without restraint, who deserved it. Their riches gave them influence, and Scoti and reguli were synonimous.[p]

The Scots of both countries are distinguished by Nennius, for they were certainly peculiar to neither. Ulster was the proper country of the Irish-Scots; between whom, and those of the West of Scotland, there long continued so intimate a connexion, that the people may be said to have anciently been the same; but the terms Scoti and Hiberni appear rather confounded than synonimous. The transfer of name from a supposed island to a real one, and the misapplication of passages relating to these different countries, have been productive of much confusion and obscurity.

A great part of the population of Scotland and Ireland continued for many ages to move about for the pasturage of their flocks. In the latter country, the practice was remarkable even until recent times. Spenser informs us, it was a general occupation for the inhabitants to traverse the country, "driving their cattle continually with them, and feeding only on their milk and white meates."[q] In allusion to this custom, Gildas observes, that Britain abounded with hills that were very convenient for the alternate pasture of flocks and herds. The Scots have been, and, from the nature of their country, a great proportion of the inhabitants must continue a pastoral people; but their wanderings have long ceased to extend farther than from the homesteading in the glen, to the shealings in the mountains, during the months of summer.

[p] Bede. See also Innes's Crit. Essay. [q] View of Ireland, 1596.

The MEATÆ were those who lived within the Walls, and their name was expressive of their local situation, being derived from Moi, plain, and Aitich, inhabitants,[r] although within the Roman pale they were scarcely subdued; and it was only about 368, that this part of the island was formed into the province of Valentia. The Meatæ were of the same Celtic race as the other nations; and the Walenses, or people of Galloway, are their remains.

They are supposed, by General Roy, to have become known as PICTS, a name which appears to have been of wide application, and first occurs in an oration of the panegyrist Eumenius, to Constantius, on his victory over Alectus, in 296, and they are not spoken of as a recent people, but as having, like the Scots, been in the island before the arrival of Cæsar. It was, indeed, an established tradition in Bede's time, that the Picts were the original inhabitants of Scotland; and, agreeably to this opinion, it is said that Pictland was afterwards corruptly called Scotia.

The same Eumenius terms all the extra provincials Picts, and plainly shews that they were the same people as the Caledonians. When the Emperor Constantius came into Britian, he proceeded to repel the "Caledonii et alii Picti."

Giraldus Cambrensis says that some assigned a period of 1070 years for the duration of the Pictish kingdom, which, reckoning from its subversion in 841, will carry it to the year 229 before the Christian era.

Herodian calls the Caledonians Picti;[s] and Ammianus

[r] Mac Pherson, in Ossian. Whittaker says from mæan, middle, or moi, plain. Innes translates it Midland Britons. The ancient province of Meath, in Ireland, seems to have received its name from the same cause.

[s] D'Anville says they are not to be distinguished from each other.

says they were divided into two nations, the Deu Caledonii and Vecturiones, names which appear appropriate to their different situations. An dua or tua, north, Chaeldoch or Ghaeldoch, Caledonian, an appellation some west Highlanders, as Dr. Mac Pherson avers, continued to give to the people of Ross and Sutherland. A part of Drumalban is still called Drum-Uachter, and Uachturich, which has the same signification as Highlanders, is supposed, with the appearance of probability, to be the origin of Vecturiones, which has otherwise been written Venricones,[t] and, perhaps, Venicontes.[u]

In the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth it appears the Scots were called Picts generally. A passage in an ancient poem by Ossian, or some other bard, shews that the Caledonians did not reject the term. "Alas! that it was not in the land of Picts, of the bloody and fierce Fingalians that thou didst fall."

It is believed that this name was applied to all the inhabitants of the North.[v] The similarity of interments in the Highlands and Lowlands, affords a proof of the identity of the ancient inhabitants, who were undoubtedly Celts. Indeed, Innes is of opinion that the Caledonians were but a part of the Pictish nation,[w] which was subdued by Kenneth Mac Alpin, and is supposed to have been then utterly exterminated. On the contrary, however, this prince was styled, as his successors long continued to be, King of the Picts.[x] He was, in fact, one of their own monarchs, and had a legi-

[t] Mac Pherson's Critical Dissertations. Another very plausible etymology of Deu Caledonii is from dubh, black. It is said the Irish called the *west* Highlanders "Duffe Alibawn." Maule's Hist. of the Picts. Buchannan thinks Deu Caledonii ought to be Dun Caledones. See also Grant's Thoughts on the Gaël.

[u] Ptolemy, lib. xxvii. c. 7. [v] Whittaker.

[w] Critical Essay. [x] Tighearnach. Caradoc of Llancarvon, &c.

timate claim to the throne, being the son of Urguist, daughter of Hungus, King of the Picts, who was married to Achaius, King of the Scots.[y]

Nennius declares that the Picts remained in his days; and the Bard of Malcolm the Third gives no intimation of their pretended extirpation. Their chief seat, about the year 875, was Galloway, a district which remained to a late period in a state of comparative independence, governed by its native princes, and regulated by its peculiar customs.[z]

The last mention of the inhabitants of this province by the ancient name, is in 1138, when they fought at the battle of the Standard. Richard of Hexham says the Picts of David's army were vulgarly called GALLEWEIENSES. Gallovid, says Buchannan, in old Scots, is a Gaul; and what the Scots call Gallowithia, the Welsh pronounce Wallowithia. So Talliesen calls the Principality, Wallia, and the Saxons called the inhabitants Bryt wealas, which they latinized Gauli.[a] The inhabitants were also called what, in fact, they were, Scoti,[b] and this division of Scotland was anciently of much greater extent than it is now. It comprehended all the tract of land from the Solway Firth to the Clyde. From charters of David I., the town of Irwine, with Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrew, &c. constituted part of this extensive district; and hence Galloway was able to offer so much as two thousand marks, with five hundred cows, and as many hogs yearly, for the King of England's protection, when, in 1174, they attempted to assert their independence on the Scots' crown.[c] Nor were

[y] See Pinkerton's Enquiry.

[z] The princes are styled Reguli by Fordun, sub. an. 1159, &c. In 1308, "Galwide was not parcel of the crown." MS. in Brit. Mus.

[a] Whittaker, Dr. Mac Pherson, &c. Walsh, in German, is the name for a Gaul. [b] Isodorus, Origines, ix. 2. [c] Guthrie, &c.

the Picts confined to Galloway, but about the beginning of the twelfth century inhabited Lothian.[d]

The conjectures of etymologists are often as unsatisfactory as they are numerous. Investigations of this kind are both useful and instructive when judiciously pursued, but they are often absurd or frivolous. The impropriety of deriving this word from the Latin Picti, painted, has been often noticed. These people could not be solely entitled to the appellation, when the other tribes equally practised the custom of staining their bodies.

It is easy to perceive that the nature of the country inhabited by the Picts, must have in time produced a difference between them and the Caledonians, although both of the same race. There were natural boundaries by which the two nations were separated, and which must for some months in the year have precluded all intercourse. It is not, therefore, singular, that people originally the same, should become distinguished from each other, and acquire peculiar names. The nature of their territories must have produced a change in national manners, and rendered their avocations different. A native of the flat country of Moray or Buchan was not likely to be expert in those pursuits that were the favorite recreations of the people of the high countries of Mar or Badenoch; nor could a Highlander easily accommodate himself to a residence on the plain. It is the opinion of General Roy, that the Picts and Caledonians were the same people, who acquired different names from their local situation.[e]

The LANGUAGE, from the same causes, must undergo a change, which in process of time will become very percep-

[d] Alexander Nechamus, quoted by Goodall, in pref. ut sup.

[e] Military Antiquities, p. 129.

tible. It has already been shewn that the languages of Gaul were but different dialects of the same speech; it appears equally certain that those of Britain were at one time the same. When we find the Gaëlic, as used in Scotland and Ireland, the Welsh, the Cornish, which is but lately lost, and the Manx, all variations of the Celtic, spoken in the British islands, we can readily admit the observation of Bede, that the language of the Picts differed from that of the Britons of Wales, and the Scots of Ireland, without giving up our belief in their national identity. Camden shews that the British and Pictish tongues were alike,[f] and the different languages of Bede could only have been dialects, a conclusion to which Buchannan came, for this reason chiefly, that none of these nations appeared to have required an interpreter.

It is asserted that the original Celts were expelled from the low country of Scotland upwards of 2000 years ago, by a people who spoke a different language, and who are said to have been of Cumraeg extract;[g] if so, there ought to be some remains of their speech; but the local names in the east and south of Scotland are not Welsh, but Scotish Gaëlic, and are "far too numerous to be the relics of a language, which has been expelled from those parts of the country for 2000 years."

It has been attempted to prove that the Picts were Goths from Scandinavia, by whom the Saxon language was introduced, and fixed along the south and east coasts, and to support this system the public have been favoured with etymologies "altogether imaginary and ill founded."[h] Those who maintain the opinion and cite the languages of

[f] Dr. Mac Pherson.

[g] Pinkerton.

[h] Dr. Murray's remarks on the history and language of the Pehts in Trans. of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii. part 1.

Bede, ought not to forget that he expressly says the Pictish was different from the Saxon; but the whole argument founded on the Saxon language of the low country, I apprehend, is overthrown by the fact, that in Galloway, the last sovereignty of the Picts, the native tongue which continued to be spoken in the time of Queen Mary, was Gaëlic, for which Buchannan, being conversant with that language, is an unexceptionable authority.[i] Pinkerton himself acknowledges that it was spoken until lately in Carrick.

The dreary forests, the sterile and forbidding wastes of Scandinavia, so far from having been the officina gentium, whence nations were sent forth to overspread and people Europe, and from which fecund storehouse is said to have issued, that Gothic colony from which the Picts were descended, must have remained desert and unoccupied by mankind until comparatively recent times.

Adam of Bremen, who wrote in the eleventh century, says, that even in his time, the shores only of Denmark were inhabited, the interior being an impenetrable forest;[j] and Gibbon asserts that Scandinavia, twenty centuries ago, must in all the low parts have been covered by the sea: the high lands only rising above the water, like islands.[k]

That Scotland, in the time of the Romans, and long after, was inhabited by Caledonians and Picts, as it has been since by Highlanders and Lowlanders, is perfectly clear; that both were of Celtic origin seems absolutely certain. Differences existed between the inhabitants of certain districts, either arising from local position and peculiar circumstances, or produced by the intermixture of colonies subsequently arriving. The parts possessed by the Picts were better adapted for agriculture and commerce than the rugged wilds of Caledonia; and it is from

[i] Lib. i. 11. [j] Diss. on the Scyths, p. 23. [k] c. ix.

their settled lives and attention to manufactures, that the Highland traditions represent them as an ingenious, rather than a warlike people. An early change, therefore, took place among the inhabitants of the low country, for those pursuits invariably lead to mutations in language and manners; and the observation of a learned gentleman respecting the Gaëlic is perfectly just,—"Rocks, seas, and deserts, ignorance, sterility, and want of commerce, are its best preservatives."[l]

It has been shewn that the language of the eastern Celts on the continent, became first corrupted by the Gothic, which was itself derived from the primitive Celtic.[m] "The most ancient remains of the German or Teutonic approach very near to the Mœsa Gothic,"[n] and the Anglo Saxon was immediately derived from the old Saxon of Germany.[o]

The Gothic was long established among the Northern nations, and in England, before it was introduced into Scotland or Ireland; and in those early ages, it was so pure that the people of remote countries found no difficulty in understanding each other. In the time of Ethelred, 979, an Englishman could converse with a Scandinavian, and could not, from his tongue, know him to be a foreigner.[p]

The inhabitants of the south and east of Scotland, advancing into a state of civilization, in consequence of an intercourse with England and other parts, were prepared, and, as it were, forced, gradually, to admit the Saxon language; but the vernacular tongue of the Picts continued to predominate. In the reign of Malcolm-Cean-

[l] "Next to valuable books and permanent records."—Dr. M'Pherson.

[m] See p. 25.

[n] Jamieson's observations on Dr. Murray's remarks, ut sup.

[o] De Murr's Conspectus Biblioth. Glot. Univers. ap. Jamieson, ut sup.

[p] Gunlaug Saga. Heimskringla, ap. Jamieson.

more, towards the end of the eleventh century, none of the clergy could understand the Saxon without an interpreter.

Improvements in commerce and agriculture induced the settlement of strangers;—the progress of refinement occasioned the introduction of many new terms, and paved the way for fixing, in the lowlands, the Saxon language, to which several circumstances greatly conduced.

In 547, Ida, King of Northumberland, with an army of Anglo Saxons, took possession of the lower part of Roxburgh, and seized Lothian, a term which there is reason to believe was then applied to the south as well as north side of the Tweed. This invasion is, however, not likely to have made that alteration in the language[a] which is supposed, even although the invaders had settled in the conquered provinces, for they must, as it is admitted the colonies from Germany and Scandinavia did, have eventually merged in the Celtic tribes. Oswy, King of the Nordanhymbri, or people of Northumberland, about 650, reduced the Scots and Picts, who lived between the Tweed and Forth, and exacted tribute from them until 685, when the Picts recovered their possessions. During this period, the Saxon language, it is believed, first began to be used in the south; but on the Norman invasion, the Royal family of England, the principal nobility, with their attendants and others, who would not submit to the conquerors, took refuge in Scotland; and Malcolm married the princess Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling, and harassed the borders with fire and sword. So many refugees on this occasion accepted the protection of the Scotish King, that Simeon of Durham tells us the kingdom was "stocked with English men and maid servants, so that, to this day, there is not a farm house, or even a cottage, where they

[a] Border Antiquities.

are not to be found."[r] On the death of the Conqueror, and defeat of the rebellion against his successors, many Normans also retired to Scotland, and Malcolm, with much policy, settled them chiefly on the borders of his kingdom, and in the towns on the east coast that were exposed to the frequent invasions of the Danes. "The towns and boroughs of Scotland," says William of Newburgh, "are known to be inhabited by the English;" but when an opportunity offered, he adds, "the Scots, from an innate hatred towards them, which they dissembled from a fear of offending the king, destroyed all whom they found." The Celts were averse to live in towns and submit to sedentary occupations, or apply themselves to commercial pursuits; hence the Saxons, Normans, Flemings, and others, were generally the inhabitants of the Boroughs, and advantageously pursued those trades which the natives had little inclination to acquire.[s] Through their means, chiefly, the Saxon was propagated, for it had become the language most generally understood in Europe. It was, as it were, the court language during the reign of Malcolm, and the influence, which this must have had even in those days, is easily conceived. Besides, all our kings, from Malcolm-Cean-more to Alexander II., lived some time in England, learned the language and married English princesses.

To those who maintain that the Gothic was the language of the Picts, or who assert that the limits of the two languages have always continued the same, or nearly so, it is to be mentioned that, so late as the reign of Queen Mary, the Gaëlic was spoken in the Gariach, Aberdeenshire, where it is now entirely unknown, and was even taught in the schools of Aberdeen. In Ireland, the nobility and gentry continued to use this language until the time of

[r] Lib. ii. c. 34. [s] See all ancient Charters, and other documents.

Elizabeth, or James the First.[1] The Saxon has continued to gain ground in both countries, and must inevitably, at no very distant period, wholly supplant the Gaëlic.

It is not the Saxon language alone that has excited the investigation of antiquaries; the Dalriads are said to have brought over their native tongue, which, according to some writers, they disseminated all over Scotland, a proof not only that the Scots' Monarchy was derived from Ireland, but that the people spoke a different language. Chalmers, who allows the Gaëlic of North Britain to be the purest, believes he has proved the introduction of the Irish dialect, by citing a charter which refers to "Inverin qui fuit Aberin." This is any thing but satisfactory; he means to show that the Irish Inbhear supplanted the Scottish Abar or Aber. Inver, here used with in, an island or country, signifies the land which lies between the confluence of two rivers, and Aber, which seems to be the original word, is generally applied in the same sense. Aber, however, properly denotes marsh and boggy ground, but as this place lay on the east coast, it had been probably drained by the industrious Picts, and could no longer, with propriety, be called Aber-in. Abar is a compound word, from Ab, an obsolete Gaëlic term for water, which, as may be seen in many names still existing, became softened into Av. Bar, is a heap, a height, or point. Now the Caledonians generally chose marshes as the sites of their entrenchments, and many Highlanders I have found yet understand by abar, a work, as of an earthen mound, a trench, &c. If, however, the language of the Eirinich differed from that of the Scotish Gaël, which it is said to have supplanted, no tradition or valid proof remains to at-

[1] Highland Society's ed. of Ossian. About 1619, the use of the Irish language, in deeds, was discontinued. Trans. of Ir. Acad.

test it; and if the Dalriads brought over their language, they did so effectually, for they have left no Invers behind them.

At the Roman abdication of Britain, in 446, there was only one race of men in Scotland, the sixteen tribes north of Antonine's wall, and the five between the prætentures, who were in some degree civilized by the Romans."

The Caledonians and Picts were, therefore, from all that is related by the ancients, from the investigations of modern writers, and from the undeniable identity of language, two divisions of one and the same Celtic people; and I see no objection to our believing, with Innes, that the Picts were "the first known people of the North," although it is not so apparent that they were, as he says, "the second in order of time."

" Caledonia.

CHAPTER III.

APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—EXTENT AND PRODUCTIONS OF THE ABORIGINAL FORESTS.

The Western side of Britain is mountainous, the east and south parts are champaign. These different characters are striking, and have long marked the territories of the ancient inhabitants and those who are mingled with later colonists. The same, in some degree, is the case with Ireland.

It will not be here attempted to account for the alluvial discoveries made throughout these islands, or hazard an explanation of various remarkable appearances. Whether the flood of Noah, or any other deluge or convulsion, has produced the difference between the former and present face of the earth, is not easy to be ascertained, but a singular change has certainly taken place.[a] Traditions, indeed, do

[a] See Brogniart's Works, &c.

exist, that the Scillies, and many other islands, were formerly connected with the mainland; but the fact appears as unsusceptible of positive proof, as the shock that is presumed to have rent Britain from the continent.

Throughout the Western Isles, the Orkneys, and even in Shetland, the discovery of large trees that are dug from the mosses or bogs, has led to an opinion, that the woods must have existed at a time when these islands were dissevered from Britain, either by the workings of the ocean, or a sudden disruption; and without some such hypothesis, "it is not easy to comprehend, how trees could grow on these spots, of which the extent is so small, and under circumstances in which heath will scarcely now attain its full growth."[b] Remains of woods have often been perceived at a distance from the shores. The encroachments of the ocean were very remarkably proved, by the discovery of a thick forest in the bay of Pulvash, in Man, where the trees were exposed after a violent storm. Those dug up on land, shew that the woods of that island have been at a subsequent period overthrown by a north-east wind. At Niwegal, near St. David's, in Wales, Gir. Cambrensis says, a furious tempest which blew away the sands on the beach, opened to view a forest, and on the trunks of many of the trees the mark of the axe was visible. If the Triads can be received as authority, they attest the formation of Anglesea, and many other islands on the western coast, by the bursting of the lake Llion, and allude to a period when the Orkneys were but few in number.

At the period of the Roman invasion, from which we must date all certain information respecting Britain, the face of the country was very different from what it has since appeared. The small tracts which had been cleared

[b] M'Culloch's Description of the Western Islands, ii. p. 268.

of wood, in the vicinity of the towns or strongholds, and the very limited patches of ground appropriated to raise a portion of corn, were insufficient to materially affect the general appearance of nature throughout the island.

We do not possess so satisfactory data respecting the country, or inhabitants of Scotland, as illustrate the ancient state of South Britain; for the partial knowledge which the Romans and others obtained, respecting the regions of Caledonia, did not enable them to transmit much information concerning this distant boundary of the empire.

A better climate, a less rugged country, and some commercial advantages, produced a certain territorial improvement, and consequent melioration in the state of the Southern tribes. A greater attention to agriculture, in a latitude more favourable to the operations of husbandry, constituted the chief difference between the maritime nations of South Britain, and the aborigines of the interior, who retained their primitive rudeness, and occupied districts where the face of nature was less changed by the labours of human industry.

Where the dense forests spread in natural wildness, and undisturbed luxuriance; where lakes and morasses are undrained, the land uncultivated, and surrounded by vast seas; a clouded sky and a moist climate are the natural effects, and are very unpleasantly felt by those who have lived under the azure sky, and genial climate of Italy. The frequent and heavy showers that fall on the Western coasts are most remarkable, and occasioned a facetious gentleman who had resided several weeks in the country, during which he never experienced a dry day, to ask a person whom he met some years afterwards on the continent, "whether it had yet ceased to rain in Scotland?" These sudden showers bring down the mountain floods with a velocity that often occasions the loss of flocks, and sometimes of human life.

The Roman historians in general speak of Britain as extremely unpleasant, "damp with continual showers, and overcast with clouds,"[c] but Cæsar describes the climate as milder than that of Gaul. Scotland is represented as of a most forbidding aspect, deluged with incessant rains, and clouded with exhalations from unwholesome fens; surrounded by seas that raged with tremendous fury, and forcing their billows to the centre of the country, foamed among the inland mountains.[d] The numerous lochs, or arms of the sea, with which the Northern part of the island is indented, give some propriety to this description; but we must regard these accounts as given by a people, who had an imperfect knowledge of a country, in which they never made any permanent settlement, and who exaggerated the details to magnify their military exploits; yet the scenery of Caledonia was too romantic and singular to escape observation. Its grandeur struck the ancients with wonder, and has always been the admiration of the lovers of the romantic picturesque.

The Grampians, that appear an impenetrable barrier, have long been considered the line of separation between the well known divisions of Highlands and Lowlands; but there are other remarkable features that have excited particular notice.

The Muir of Rannach, a district in Perthshire, extending from the hills of Glen Lyon to Ben Nevis, is a flat desert plain, about twenty miles square, surrounded by the highest mountains in Scotland. So well secured by nature is this district, that it was wholly inaccessible to the civil power, until after the events of 1745.

Part of Assynt, and Edderachyllis in Sutherland, forming a tract of about twenty-four miles by eight or ten, is no

[c] Vita Agricolæ, c. xiii. [d] Ibid.

less remarkable. Although in a very mountainous country, it is comparatively plain, but rugged and broken in a most extraordinary manner, and may be described, as if hundreds of great mountains had been split and scattered about by some violent convulsion of nature.[e] In certain parts of the Highlands the mountains have the singular appearance of being composed of loose blocks of stone, resembling an immense cairn. Some of the woods also are not unworthy of observation, where the fir is seen growing on the side of precipices, where no soil can apparently exist. In the fissures of the rock, this hardy tree fixes its roots, where it seems impossible either to take hold, or derive the requisite nourishment; yet the remains of ancient forests are seen in these situations, and owe their preservation to the inaccessible heights on which they are placed. The mountain of Ben Lair, in Ross, affords a remarkable example, and the rugged hills of Mar, in Aberdeenshire, display many similar appearances.

Britain is described by the ancients, as "horrida sylvis." The name of Caledonia, if a plausible etymology before stated[f] is deemed conclusive, proves the former wooded state of the country, which is more strongly attested by the remains dug from numerous mosses, and various local names derived from woods that have now disappeared. Scotland has so long been denuded of its ancient forests, that their existence has been doubted, when a thousand proofs from vestigia met with in almost every district evince the fallacy of such a supposition. It is true the Sylva Caledonia has disappeared, except the remains that are seen in Rannach, in Mar, in Abernethy, and Laggan, in which last place it still retains the appropriate name of Coilmore, or the great wood, and in part of Ross; but al-

[e] Roy's Mil. Ant. p. 59. [f] Page 46.

though some of these tracts are still more than thirty miles in length, they are but a small proportion of a wood, which once covered the whole central highlands.

Many forests that no longer remain, or are reduced to a stunted copse wood, are mentioned in ancient records. From these we ascertain the existence of woods that formerly covered heaths, which beyond all memory of man have presented the most bleak and barren aspect.[g] The forests that were around Stirling, Forfar, Inverness, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, and Kintore, that overspread Buchan, Crimond, Cabrach, &c. &c., are often noticed in ancient deeds. The great wood of Drumselch was in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and Etterick forest has long given name to a sheriffdom. Nor was South Britain much less encumbered with woods; from Kent to Somerset, was one continued forest, and a dense wood extended over the present counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Rutland, and part of Northampton.[h] Ireland was overrun with woods; and the first employment of the colonists is said to have been clearing the land, and making room for themselves; and those who were distinguished by their activity in so laudable a work are celebrated in the national histories.[i] In that country three distinct growths of timber, under three distinct strata of moss, are discovered.[j] In the time of Cambrensis, it appears to have been still full of thick woods, some of which, at a later period, exceeded twenty miles in length.[k]

The British woods appear to have contained nearly all the varieties of trees to be found in Gaul. Tacitus says

[g] See the Chartularies. Rymer's Fœdera. Chalmer's Caledonia, &c.

[h] See Whittaker's Hist. of Manchester, and authorities.

[i] Leabhar Gabhala. Keating's MSS. Ogygia, &c. &c.

[j] Report of the Commissioners on the Bogs of Ireland.

[k] Derrick's Image of Ireland, 1581.

that the island did not produce the vine and the olive,[l] but Cæsar excepts the fir and beech also,[m] and his authority, that these were not to be found in Britain, would almost repress scepticism.

The beech is believed to have been unknown before the Romans had established themselves; but from its British or Celtic names, Faighe or Faghe, the Latin Fagus, is apparently derived.

That the fir must have grown plentifully in the aboriginal woods, there is abundant proof: fir cones are dug up from great depths, as well as the immense trunks of the trees on which they grew; and the bogs in which they are found, being in some cases traversed by Roman roads, were certainly formed before the arrival of that people. The remains of this hardy tree are found in great quantity on each side of these roads; to make which, they were cut down, and have even been employed in their construction.[n] But Cæsar has been vindicated by a very intelligent writer, in the Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland, who maintains that it was the pitch tree, the pinus abies of Linnæus, which Cæsar speaks of, and by no means the Scots fir, which is really a pine.[o]

The Celtic names of this tree bear no analogy to the Latin word, from which they could not therefore be derived, affording a proof that the fir was indigenous. In the Gaëlic, the fir and the pine are called Gius, or Giumhus, and in the Irish idiom the term Finniduydh is also used. The fir was the natural production of this country, and formerly grew spontaneously in Scotland, and the Northern

[l] Vit. Agric. c. xii.

[m] "Præter Fagum atque Abietem," not Ficum, as some read.

[n] Whittaker, ut sup.

[o] Dr. Walker on Peat, Trans. ii. p. 7. The picea, or pitch tree, the Gauls termed pades. Pliny, xvi. 40.

parts of England. The ancient forests of North Britain appear to have consisted chiefly of this tree, and it has been but recently lost in some parts. It is now generally represented by the Highland or planted fir, in the opinion of the late Mr. Farquharson, a good authority on this subject,—his estate of Invercauld comprising many thousand acres covered with this tree, the remains of the Caledonian forest. It is a curious fact, that the native fir is much deteriorated by transplantation, and that, to preserve its quality, nature should be followed, and the seed sown where the tree is to grow. Some of this natural wood formed the roof of Kilchurn castle, in Argyleshire; and when taken down, after it had stood above three hundred years, it was found as fresh and full of sap, as newly imported Memel.[p] The great woods of Glenmore and Abernethy, the property of the Duke of Gordon and the Laird of Grant, are reckoned the oldest and best in quality of any in Scotland.

The yew, in Gaëlic, Iubhar, or Iuthar, grew in the woods of Britain, where the names of many places are presumptive proof that it is indigenous.

The oak, called Darach by the Highlanders, has been held in almost universal estimation, and besides its importance in religion, it must have been valued as affording a coarse food to the primitive barbarians. The respect with which the Druids regarded it, is well known; even the Romans retained that veneration, which they derived from their remote ancestors. Pliny attests that mast trees were always held in the highest repute by that people.[q]

It is said that the oak was confined to the south of Perthshire, the fir being the tree which prevailed northwards of that division; but oaks must have formerly grown plenti-

[p] Smith's View of the Agriculture of Argyle, p. 156.

[q] Lib. xvi. c. 3.

fully all over Scotland, and even in the Hebrides, there being scarcely a district where the remains of the trees are not to be found.[r] The extensive moss of Flanders, in Stirlingshire, was once the site of a considerable forest of this wood, over which the soil has accumulated to a depth of twenty feet. A rivulet that bounds this tract on the north east, has exposed on its banks, trees of very large dimensions.[r] Its usefulness for strength and durability preserved the estimation which this tree acquired from its sacred character. The Triads inform us, the birch, the oak, and the buckthorn, were not to be cut down without permission of the lord of the country. The oak most frequently appears in Scotish grants, for the erection or repair of buildings, the wooden work of all public and private edifices of consequence, being composed of it. In the reign of Edward the First are many donations of oak trees, which, in his assumed character of lord paramount of Scotland, he bestowed to repair the damage occasioned by his cruel wars. Longmorgan, now a barren heath near Elgin, was then covered with "the monarch of the wood," and at the head of Loch Etive are still to be seen some of these trees, whose trunks measure from twenty to twenty-five feet in circumference, although growing in a thin, arid, rocky soil. The elm is said, by the historian of Manchester, to have been introduced by the Romans, but it rather appears to have been indigenous; and from its Celtic name Leamhan, the Latin Ulmus is probably derived. In the form of Ailm, so closely resembling its English name, it is the first letter of the Gaëlic alphabet. The broad-leaved sort is a native of Scotland; but from a belief that the bark is a useful application for burns, it is now seldom seen of a large size.[s]

[r] Stat. Account of Doune, vol. xx. p. 19.

[s] Smith's View of the Agric. of Argyle, &c.

The birch, Beithe, in Gaëlic, is reckoned a native, and its name is given to the letter B. The Romans are said to have introduced the poplar, the plane, the box, &c. Malcolm Laing, in his attempt to refute the poems of Ossian, asserts that the first was not anciently known in Scotland. It is certainly found all over the Highlands, and grows in places inaccessible to human footsteps, and from its name, Crithean, derived from Crith, a shaking or trembling, so unlike the latin Populus, it may be reasonably considered as a native production. The same may be said of the ash, Uinseann having no resemblance to Fraxinus, and so of others, as the holly, Cuileann, &c.

In the lower parts of Caithness, a county that does not seem ever to have contained much wood, the vegetable remains usually dug up, are willow, hazel, and alder, or aller. The first was, most likely, a natural product. The Celtic willow was small and tender,[t] and both Gauls and Britons were celebrated for the manufacture of wicker or basket work. Its name in the Highlands, Seileach, is not very different from the Latin Salix, or the French Saule. The second was also, there is no doubt, a native of Britain; from its Gaëlic name Caltuin, little resembling the Roman Corylus, Buchannan thought the term Caledonia arose. From the third, Fearn, the names of many places in Scotland are certainly derived. The juniper, found in almost all countries, could not have anciently been unknown in this. In the Celtic tongue it is called Aitin.

Apple trees, if not indigenous in Britain, were very early imported by the colonies from Gaul, where they bore excellent fruit.[u] The Hædui of Somerset are supposed to have been particularly attentive to their culture; and Avalonia, the ancient name of Glastonbury, called Awfallach,

[t] Pliny, xvi. 37. [u] Ibid. xv. 20. Whittaker.

or the Orchard, in Welch,[v] is derived from the British Aval, an apple, which is likewise the origin of Avalana, the name of a place in the north of England, and Avalon in France.

It would appear from a passage in Ossian, that this fruit was well known to the Caledonians, but it is not credible that Thule should abound in apple trees, as Solinus writes, in the third century, if by the appellation is to be understood the Orkney or Shetland Islands. This term is, however, applied by many to the north east part of Scotland, and the county of Moray has long been celebrated for its mild climate and fruitful soil. Buchannan says it surpassed all the other counties of Scotland in its excellent fruit trees, and although not now so famous on this account, it still retains much of its ancient celebrity. It may be reasonably presumed, that those trees which the natural woods of Britain did not contain, were brought from the continent by the early colonists. L. Lucullus was the first who brought cherries from Pontus, about seventy-two years before Christ; and twenty-six years afterwards they were carried to Britain.[w] Geen trees abound in some parts of Banffshire, where they are said to be of natural growth.[x]

The vine was cultivated by the Gauls, who possessed several peculiar sorts,[y] at a very early period; but before the arrival of the Romans, it seems to have been unknown in Britain. Although there were numerous vineyards in England, even until lately, the early inhabitants do not appear to have valued this fruit, and the Scots were precluded by their climate from rearing it. The eleventh letter, M, is called Muin, a word that is indeed translated, a vine, but is, properly, a bramble, or thorn.[z]

The Northern latitude of Scotland does not allow the

[v] Roberts, Whittaker, &c.
[w] Pliny, xv. 25.
[x] Agricultural Report.
[y] Pliny, lib. xiv. 23.
[z] Armstrong's Gaëlic Dictionary.

production of many fruits, to be found in more favoured countries, yet the climate is not inimical to their cultivation. The remains of aged woods are found in various places much nearer the sea, and on more arid and exposed situations, than where they can now be reared, but the difficulty seems to arise, at present, from the want of shelter for the young plantations; the Highland valleys are represented as peculiarly congenial to the raising and perfection of fruit trees. Mr. Leitch, a gardener, who writes in 1793, from Richmond, in Surrey, declares that wood strawberries, blackberries,[a] &c. &c. ripen more early in these valleys, than in the mildest parts of the Low Country, and assures the nobility and gentry, that "there are vast numbers of tracts in the West Highlands, that would ripen apples and pears better than any in the Low Countries of the kingdom." "These Highland glens," he maintains, "are the very places adapted by nature to raise orchards in."[b] At Dunrobin, in Sutherland, apricot, peach, and other fruit trees thrive well. Walnuts have ripened at Skibo; and at Morvich, in the same county, are many very old pear trees, that still bear good crops, of excellent quality.[c] We learn that David the First, about 1140, used to employ his leisure time in cultivating a garden, and in grafting and training trees.[d]

The monks, who always paid particular attention to the good things of this life, while preparing themselves for the enjoyment of the next, had usually a good garden stocked with fruit trees attached to their monasteries, and their peaceful life enabled them to cultivate their grounds with

[a] The blackberries in the Highlands are much superior to those found in the hedges of England.

[b] Smith's View of the Agric. of Argyle.

[c] Agric. Report for Sutherland.

[d] Fordun's Scotichronicon, lib. v. c. 59.

much success. So early as the ninth century, the clergy of Iona had prosperous orchards, which were destroyed by the barbarous Norwegian invaders.[e]

Ireland presents many instances of the horticultural spirit of these societies; but in that country their labours were assisted by a fine climate and fruitful land. Caledonia never enjoyed the advantages of a fertile soil; but as the late much respected Sir Alexander MacDonald, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, said on a public occasion, "its harvest is inferior to none in the rich produce of a manly race, and the fruits of talents, genius, and heroic virtue."[f]

The British forests have disappeared from various causes. In the progressive advance of civilization, and perhaps from the increase of population, considerable tracts must have been from time to time cleared for the purposes of pasturage, and for the raising of corn, which the country produced abundantly.[g] Sir H. Davy's opinion is, that the trees on the outside of the woods, which, from a free exposure to the sun and air, were much stronger than those in the interior, being first cut down, the rest from exposure to the wind were overthrown, and hence occasioned the formation of the bogs; but to the Roman operations in this island may be attributed the destruction of great part of its woods. It was a settled maxim with that people to construct roads, and thereby lay open all countries which they attempted to conquer, or that had been brought under their subjection; and in eradicating the British woods they had an additional and weighty argument for its expediency—the shelter which they afforded to the natives, and the facilities they gave for the exercise of that desultory and destructive mode of attack, for which the people were so celebrated. The trunks of the

[e] Smith, in Stat. Account, x, p. 543.

[f] Observations on the Highlands. 1814.

[g] Vit. Agri. xii.

trees which they felled, were found useful in the construction of their *Iters*, where they were carried across soft and boggy ground, and they are often found to have formed the ground work of these ways, by the sides of which the logs they did not require are often discovered.

So early as the age of Agricola, the industry of the Romans in clearing the country of its woods was well known, and was bitterly complained of by the natives, who were themselves compelled to the work.[h] From this policy, wise indeed, but almost as inefficient as the erection of their vast ramparts, the aboriginal woods of Caledonia suffered material encroachments. The Emperor Severus, in his progress northwards, was particularly active in demolishing the forests which protected the enemies of Rome, and laboured with such diligence in clearing them away, that it is believed he lost a considerable number of his troops from the fatigue occasioned thereby. Numerous remains are found, which, as they lie in his line of march, and as both roots and trunks remain on the ground, and evince that the trees could not have been cut down for sake of the land, are clearly referable to this expedition.

In the moss of Logan, in the parish of Kippen, a road was discovered twelve feet wide, and formed by the trunks of trees regularly laid across each other; and north of the river Forth, in the moss of Kincardine, a road, apparently a continuation of the same line, has also been discovered, of a similar width and construction.[i]

Many extensive bogs in Perthshire are found to have originated from the labours of the Romans in denuding the country of its primæval woods. The clay surface underneath the moss, which bore the ancient forest, is found to be thickly strewed with the trunks of huge trees

[h] Vit. Agri. xxxi. [i] Stat. Account, xviii.

lying in all directions, beside their roots, which still remain firmly fixed in their original positions, exhibiting visible marks of the axe by which they fell.[j]

The forests of Caledonia, that escaped destruction from the Romans, suffered from the English armies in subsequent ages. Partly actuated by a similar policy, and partly from the spirit of rancour attendant on civil and predatory warfare, the troops of King Edward were accustomed to set fire to the woods. In Fife, they were destroyed, to deprive robbers of the shelter they afforded; and those in the north that belonged to the Cumins, were burned on the defeat of their faction by King Robert Bruce.[k]

In Dumfries, most of the woods appear from their remains to have been consumed by fire, and in Caithness they all appear to have shared the same fate.[l] It is believed, in the Western Islands, that the forests were set fire to by the Norwegians when leaving these possessions.[m] Indeed, a general tradition prevails throughout the country, that the woods were burnt in an extremely hot summer; and this is recorded in the Welch Triads, as the third calamity which befel Britain.

In Sutherland, they have also been destroyed by conflagration; and, according to a tradition, it was occasioned by a witch, or magician, from Denmark, which may probably allude to some descent of the eastern marauders, who frequently paid unwelcome visits to that part of the country. The trunk of a fir tree, dug up in the higher part of Kildonan, measured seventy-two feet in length, and was of proportional thickness. The appearance of the root, encrusted with charcoal, proved by what means it had been levelled with the earth.[n]

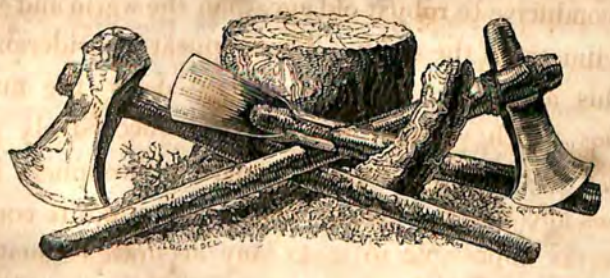
[j] Stat. Account xxi. 154.
[k] Aberdeenshire Agric. Rep.
[l] Caithness Agric. Rep.
[m] Buchannan's Western Isles, p. 24.
[n] Sutherland Agric. Rep.

It is probable, that conflagrations occasionally took place in the most remote times. From the wandering and unsettled life of mankind, the woods were in danger from the fires of the houseless natives. Ossian compares the sons of Erin after a defeat, to "a grove through which the flame had rushed, hurried on by the winds of the stormy night, &c."

The preservation of the ancient forests was scarcely considered of national importance; and the acts of the Scots' parliament that were at last promulgated for planting trees, seem to have had little effect. So late as the commencement of last century, an extensive fir wood in Argyle was considered of so little value, that an Irish company is said to have purchased it for a sum amounting to no more than a plack, or one-third of a penny per tree [p]

The increase of sheep is thought to be a chief reason of the decay of the ancient forests. Trees do not now grow without the protection of fences, and it is a fact that the pasture has suffered materially where the woods have been destroyed. From these various causes, in many districts the landscape is destitute of this valuable and pleasing ornament.

[p] Smith's View of Agric. of Argyle.



CHAPTER IV.

CELTIC POPULATION.—PERSONS AND DISPOSITIONS OF THE CELTS.—THEIR MILITARY EDUCATION AND INSTITUTIONS.—ANECDOTES OF THEIR BRAVERY AND HEROISM.—EXPLOITS OF THE ANCIENT CALEDONIANS AND PRESENT SCOTS.

MANY writers of distinguished reputation have maintained, that the inhabitants of the north of Europe were much more numerous formerly than they are now, the cold of these regions being thought more favorable to generation and conducive to robust old age, than the warm and enervating climates of the south. There appears considerable force in this argument, which is supported by the numerous armies which we find those people successively pouring forth; but the inquiries of modern philosophers into the causes affecting population tend to an opposite conclusion. It seems impossible to make any accurate estimate of the numbers of ancient nations, for "the innumerable swarms

that issued, or seemed to issue, from the great storehouse of nations, were multiplied by the fears of the vanquished and by the credulity of succeeding ages."[a] It is also to be borne in mind, that, on emergencies, every man able to carry arms was called into the field, and on all occasions, where military glory was to be earned or national liberty and independence asserted, the Gauls were strikingly impatient for the combat.

The precarious supply of food in those rude ages, is advanced as an argument of some weight against the probability of there being anciently so dense a population as we might be led to suppose; but there was then an abundance of game to supply the want of extensive cultivation, and numerous herds of domestic cattle afforded a plentiful subsistence to the wandering tribes.

The sumptuous repasts, and variety of flesh meats, among the Gauls were subjects of remark, even to the luxurious Romans,[b] for they had "the fountains of domestic felicity within themselves, and sent out plentiful streams of happiness over almost all the world."[c] Whether the Celtæ were more or less numerous than has been represented, the means of subsistence were abundant in Gaul; and if the Britons led a less pleasant life than the tribes on the continent, they will not be found, on examination, to have been so low in the scale of civilization as many are disposed to believe. The Celtic nations have been always strongly attached to their primitive mode of life, and averse to the admission of any change, even of obvious advantage, especially if they conceived it had the least tendency to effeminate their bodies or lessen the temerity and contempt of death, on which they valued themselves;

[a] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

[b] Diodorus Sic., &c. [c] Josephus, Jewish Wars, ii. c. 16. § 4.

but they were not certainly either "unable to raise themselves in the scale of society, or incapable of industry or civilization."[d] Their various attainments, and progress in arts and sciences, will be elucidated in the respective sections, where it will be seen that from these "radical savages,"[d] the Greeks and Romans learned many useful and ingenious arts.

The Celts were neither "a feeble people,"[d] nor was their population scanty. Pausanias says, that Thrace alone was more populous than Gaul,[e] and Herodotus had affirmed, that the Thracians were the most numerous people, save the Indians alone. The ancient historians represent the Celtic migrations as occasioned by an excess of population. We learn from Cæsar,[f] that the Helvetians made war from this cause; and both he and Diodorus say, that the population of Britain was innumerable. Tacitus informs us, that Anglesea was particularly powerful in the number of its inhabitants.[g] From marks of cultivation on the mountains, and that have been discovered at some depth underground, it is believed that Ireland also was formerly well inhabited,[h] but this is doubtful. Similar indications are observed in Scotland, and the Romans deemed a single legion sufficient for the subjugation of that island.

"Who among you," says Titus to the Jews, "hath not heard of the great number of the Germans."[i] It was the chief pride of these nations to be surrounded by a numerous company of relations. To restrain generation and increase of children, or to kill new born infants, crimes of common occurrence amongst more civilized nations, were by these people "reckoned an abominable sin."[j] The

[d] Pinkerton. [e] Lib. 1. 9. [f] Bello Gall. v. 10. [g] Annals, xiv.
[h] Molyneux, ap. Luckombe, &c. [i] Josephus in the Jewish Wars.
[j] Gordon's Translation of Tacitus, de Mor. Germ.

more numerous one's children and relations were, the more he was reverenced and esteemed; among the Scandinavians, however, it was lawful to expose infants, until the eleventh century, a practice little calculated to make this country "the great storehouse of nations."

Without asserting that Europe was more populous 2000 years ago than it is in these days, which, indeed, does not appear likely, it can be confidently maintained, that the inhabitants were not thinly spread along the valleys or dispersed among the mountains. Dense forests, it must be allowed, overspread great tracts of country, but a sufficient space was left uncovered, in which numerous tribes lived in all the comfort of barbarous enjoyment.

In the works of the ancients may be found statements of the numbers of the Celtic armies at particular times. The various legions of auxiliaries which appear in the Notitia Imperii, prove that, by the Roman conquest, neither Gaul nor Germany were depopulated, notwithstanding the long and sanguinary struggles which the natives made for their independence.

When Brennus invaded Greece, he carried with him 140,000 targeteers, 10,000 horse, 2000 carriages, many merchants, and a great multitude of other followers, all of whom perished:[k] yet he led an army of 152,000 to a second invasion, and 61,000 horsemen.[l] Æmilius routed the Gauls and Celtæ, killing 40,000, and ravaged their country, after they had, with an army of 200,000 men, twice defeated the Romans.[m] The Cimbri invaded Italy, with a body of 3, or, according to some, 500,000 men, besides women and children.[n]

When the Helvetii endeavoured to establish themselves

[k] Fragment. Diod. xxii. [l] Pausanias, x. 19. [m] Frag. Diod. xxv.
[n] Plutarch, &c. Chatfield's View of the Middle Ages.

in Gaul, they had 192,000 men in arms, the whole number that set out on the expedition, according to a census found in their camp, amounting to 368,000.[o]

The Suevi, a single German nation, was divided into 100 cantons, and could bring 200,000 men into the field.[p]

The Boii, according to Pliny, on the authority of Cato, had 112 tribes: in Spain he enumerates 360 cities. Buchannan, who cites Strabo, says, 300,000 of the Celtæ bore arms. Cæsar reduced under the Roman obedience 400 nations and 800 cities—the whole number in Gaul.[q] Josephus gives them 315 nations and 1200 cities.[r]

When Cæsar was preparing to attack the Belgæ, he applied to the Rhemi, a friendly people, for information concerning the military power of that division of the Celtæ. The Rhemi, being allied "by kindred and affinity, knew how great a multitude was promised," and gave him the following list.

The Bellovaci were the most powerful of the Belgic confederates, and could bring into the field 100,000 fighting men; on the present occasion they offered but 60,000. The Suessiones were their neighbours, and had formerly been the leading tribe; they now offered 50,000. The Nervii also promised 50,000; the Attrebates 15,000; the Ambiani 10,000; the Morini 25,000; the Menapii 9000; the Caletes 10,000; the Velocasses and Veromandui 10,000; the Aduatici 29,000; the Condrusi, Eburones, Cæræsi, Pænani, who were called by one name, Germans, 40,000, making an army of 308,000 picked men.

At the same time another convocation of the Gauls was held, at which it was resolved to raise a fresh army; but they restricted their force to such a number as might be easily regulated, and find the means of subsistence with

[o] Bello Gall. [p] Ibid. [q] Appian, in the Celtic Wars. Plutarch. [r] Jewish Wars, ii. 16. 3.

facility. They accordingly made the following levies.—The Æduans and their clients, the Segusians, the Ambivarets, the Aulerci, the Brannovices, and the Brannovii, 35,000. The Arverni also 35,000; the Eleutheri, Cadurci, Gabali, Velauni, Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Xantones, Rutheni, and Carnutes, 12,000; the Bellovaci 10,000; the Lemovices 10,000; the Pictones, including the Turones, Parisii, and Eleutheri Suessiones, 32,000; the Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorii, Nervii, Morini, and Nitiobriges, 35,000; the Aulerci-Cenomanni 5000; the Atrebates 4000; the Bellocassi, Lexovii, Aulerci-Eburovices 9000; the Raurici and Boii 30,000. From the states on the ocean, who, by their custom, are called Armoricæ, viz. the Curiosolites, Rhedones, Caletes, Osisimii, Lemovices, Veneti, and Unelli, each 6000.[s]

Of these, 240,000 foot and 8000 horse were immediately mustered, and the number, we are told, was afterwards increased. In the ten years' war which Cæsar maintained in Gaul, where he first attacked the Helvetii and Tiguriæ, defeating their army of 200,000,[t] there were slain more than a million of men, and as many were taken prisoners.[u]

In those unsettled times, the population fluctuated according to the events of the frequent wars. It appears from Strabo,[v] that before Cæsar's time the Belgæ had but 30,000 fighting men. The Nervii, in their desperate contentions, were reduced from 60,000 to 500.[w]

The army of Bondiuca or Boadicea, after the destruction of London, amounted to 230,000.[x]

From the ruins of houses throughout the Highlands of Scotland, General Stewart thinks the country must have

[s] Bello Gal. vii. 69. 70.
[t] Appian in Bello Celt.
[u] Ritson's Mem. of the Celts.
[v] Lib. iv.
[w] Bel. Gal. ii. 3.
[x] Henry, Hist. of Britain.

been formerly very populous. The same has been conjectured of the Lowlands, it must be confessed, without satisfactory proof; yet the Scots and Picts must have been numerous, for they suffered greatly in mutual slaughters; and, about the beginning of the fourth century, they had to contend with 40,000 Roman troops, besides their auxiliaries. Alexander II., according to Matthew Paris, was able to raise an army of 1000 horse and 100,000 foot.

The Celtic muster rolls are exactly similar to those of the Clans of Scotland. The following list of the numbers that were to be raised for King James, in 1704, may not be uninteresting.

Mac Donalds	1800
Mac Phersons	700
Mac Kenzies of Seaforth	1200
Mac Leods	700
Frasers	1000
Roses of Kilravock	500
Rosses of Balnagowan	300
Duke of Gordon	1000
Grant of Balindalish	300
Steuart of Appin	200
Farquharsons	700
Chisholms	200
Mac Dulothes	500
Perth's Highlanders	600
	9700
Horse of Inverness and Morayshires ..	1000

General Wade gives the following statement of the Highland forces in 1715, who were engaged in the rebellion :—

The Islands and Clans of the late Lord Seaforth	3000
Mac Donalds of Slate	1000
Mac Donalds of Glengarry	800
Mac Donalds of Moidart	800
Mac Donalds of Keppoch	220
Lochiel Camerons	800
The Mac Leods, in all	1000
Duke of Gordon's followers	1000
Stewarts of Appin	400
Robertsons of Struan	800
Mac Intoshes and Farquharsons	800
Mac Ewens in the Isle of Sky	150
The Chisholms of Strathglass	150
The Mac Phersons	220
	11,140

which agrees with the number given by Rae.

The following clans, he adds, for the most part, joined the rebellion of 1715, without their superiors:—

The Athol men	2000	
The Braidalban men	1000	3,000
		14,140

The under-written clans belonged to superiors, then believed to be well affected to his Majesty:—

The Duke of Argyle	4000
Lord Sutherland and Strathnaver	1000
Lord Lovat's Frasers	800
The Grants	800
The Rosses and Munroes	700
Forbes of Culloden	200
Rose of Kilravock	300
Sir Archibald Campbell of Clunes	200
	8000

It would appear that the number which the disaffected could bring into the field in the last rebellion, was 12,000,[y] and the others, it is believed, could bring nearly as many.

The song called the Chevalier's Muster Roll, contains an enumeration of the various chiefs and tribes who were to take the field, and was well calculated to keep up the spirits of the party, by the prospect of numerous reinforcements. The following verse is a specimen.

"The Laird o' Mac Intosh is cumin',
Mac Gregor an' Mac Donald's cumin',
The Mac Kenzies an' Mac Pherson's cumin',
A' the wild Mac Ra's are cumin',
Little wat ye fa's cumin',
Donald Gun an' a's cumin," &c.

The patriarchal state of society in the Highlands of Scotland, where a whole tribe laboured and lived in common, was calculated to increase the population very rapidly. A farm was often subdivided among children, grandchildren, and other relations, until it became quite inadequate for the comfortable support of all. The evil was fortunately counteracted by the military spirit which led the young Gaël to seek their fortunes in military service, either at home or abroad.

The population of the Highlands and Isles is now estimated at about 400,000. It is sometimes stated at 200,000; but if there are 80,000 families who speak Gaëlic,[z] and if 5¼ is the average number of individuals in a family,[a] the exact amount will be 420,000.

In the Gartmore MSS., which give a low estimate of the population, it is stated, that in 1747, nearly 52,000 able men from the age of eighteen to fifty-six could be raised.

[y] Stuart Papers, ii. p. 117.
[z] "The Scotsman" of 12th January, 1828.
[a] Dr. Mac Culloch.

The STRONG and ROBUST BODIES of the Celtæ, their comeliness and great strength, have been remarked by all ancient authors who have had occasion to notice them. These qualifications must have been produced by a sufficient supply of food, by their temperance, and by the freedom and activity of their lives: hunting, pasturage, agriculture, and athletic amusements, being almost their sole occupations, when not engaged in warfare.

Both Celts and Germans were remarkably tall. They surpassed all other men in stature; and the largest, who were called Barenses, inhabited the extreme and most cold parts.[b] The lowest of the Germans were taller than the tallest Romans. Hieronymus says, Gaul always abounded in great and strong men,[d] who were wont to ridicule other people on their diminutive size.[e] The Senones were particularly remarkable, being terrible for their astonishing bigness and vast arms. The Insubres are described as more than human.[f] The Britons appear to have exceeded even the Gauls in height. Tacitus remarks the large limbs of the Caledonians; and some prisoners that Cæsar carried to Rome, were exhibited as curiosities for their prodigious size. Strabo indeed says, that he had seen British young men at Rome, who stood half-a-foot above the tallest men; but such giants were not perhaps usually met with, for he confesses that they were not particularly well-proportioned. The Celts were, however, generally admired for their fine figures, as we learn from Polybius, Arrian, and others. Tacitus notices the advantage which this height gave the enemy on occasion of crossing a river: while the Romans were in risk of being swept away,

[a] Amm. Mar. x. 10. Cæsar, &c. [b] Pausanias, i. 35, x. 20.
[d] Ap. Schoepflin's Alsatia Illustrata, i. 67. [e] Appian.
[f] Homines tantulæ staturæ. [f] Florus, i. 13, ii. 4.

the Germans could keep themselves easily above water.[g] These people were celebrated for their strength, their stature, and their huge sinewy bodies,[h] the Romans being certainly of inferior size compared with the barbarians.

From returns made to the French government, it appears that the stature of the people has suffered a decrease during the late wars; and an ingenious train of argument has been deduced to shew, that while war has a tendency to lessen the size of mankind in refined nations, it has a directly contrary effect among tribes of rude barbarians. These people take the field *en masse*; but in civilized countries, the full sized and able bodied men in the community are sent to fight for the general safety: the army when reduced being filled up by successive levies of the most robust individuals; hence the best men are sacrificed, while the unhealthy and diminutive escape. Among primitive nations the combatants encounter hand to hand, where the advantage being evidently on the side of the strong, they will survive, while the weak inevitably perish. This reasoning is specious, but it is not altogether satisfactory. Are we to consider this as the sole cause of the variation of stature in the human race? So remarkable a difference between the personal appearance of the Celtæ and other nations, could not have been produced by warfare alone.[i] A tall man is not always strong, or able to undergo much fatigue, and even if his strength is proportionate to his size, it does not always render him able effectually to contend with the activity and hardihood of one who may be much inferior in stature.

Amongst the Celtic nations, military glory was that to which they most ardently aspired, and of their warlike

[g] Annals, v. [h] Josephus Jew. Wars, ii. vi. and vii.

[i] An article on this subject appeared in the "Scotsman," xii. p. 899.

prowess they were excessively vain. To distinguish themselves by deeds of valour and heroism, it was necessary to possess strength of body, and train themselves by a life of activity and enterprise. The peculiar state of society in which they lived, was admirably calculated to promote military qualifications, and preserve the advantage which nature had bestowed on the race, who were so well formed and healthy. Their simple institutions were eminently conducive to the spirit of liberty with which they were animated, and by which their physical strength was assisted; and as they could only hope for distinction from proofs of valour and fortitude, they did not degenerate as nations who become commercial, or are enervated by a warm climate. As the Celts tenaciously retained their primitive manners, their personal appearance was not altered, but continued to attract the notice of surrounding nations.

Slow and late were the youth to marry, and when they did, it was requisite that both parties should have the same sprightly dispositions, and the same stature. They were espoused in the prime of life, and the robustness of the parents was inherited by the children.[i]

The regard which the Highlanders have always paid to the personal appearance and manly qualities of their children, has been often remarked. Next to beauty in a female, her health and person is always considered. "A puny delicate girl hardly ever gets a husband in the Highlands, because she neither can be the mother of a vigorous progeny, nor do her part in providing for them."

Tall as the Celtæ generally were, the princes and chief men usually exceeded the common people, both in stature and strength; for beauty and stateliness of person were generally characteristic of nobility in early society, and

i Tacitus de mor. Germ., who elsewhere notices their huge stature.

naturally proceeded from the constitution of a rude community, where superior strength and warlike accomplishments are the only recommendations in a chief or leader, and as they intermarry with families enjoying similar advantages, the race does not degenerate. Like the nobility of later times, the principal families in a tribe must have been exempted, in a great measure, unless during war, from those labours and privations which the lower orders endure. In the infancy of society there is little chance of degenerating from luxury; we consequently find, that most of the Celtic heroes were above the common standard. Numerous dicoveries in ancient sepulchres prove the gigantic size and strong conformation of individuals.[k]

Teutabochus, king of the Teutoni, who invaded Italy, with the Cimbrians, being taken prisoner, was conspicuous above the trophies, from his extraordinary tallness. He was also of astonishing strength and agility, being able among other feats, to vault over six horses.[l] The old kings of Caledonia are described as very superior in stature and strength. Trenmhor, like Fingal, was tall and mighty, and all tradition proves the value in which these qualifications were held. Among the Gaël, symmetry of form and bodily strength were accounted so indispensable, that as anxious attention was paid to preserve and improve the breed of children, as ever was bestowed, in more refined ages, on less noble animals; but this object was attained more through the healthfulness and temperance of the parents, than from any particular care in the education of the children, for the son of the chief had no more attention paid him than was bestowed on his foster-brother.

[k] Montfaucon gives an account of an interment where the skulls were found to be much thicker than in mankind at the present day. See also the discoveries of Sir Richard Hoare, &c. &c. &c.

[l] Florus, iii. 3.

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The Germans made no distinction between the lord's son and the slave; they were both reared naked, and nourished with the milk of their own mothers.

The wet nurses in the Isles were not allowed to drink ale, from a belief that the milk was thereby deteriorated.

The Irish children, as soon as born, were wrapt in a blanket, and so continued until they could walk.[m]

The Highlanders bathe their children every morning and evening in cold, or, sometimes, in warm water: and they did so for themselves when they grew up.[n] The cold water rendered them less susceptible of the piercing blasts to which they were exposed. It is customary with those who wear the kilt, to wash their limbs at least every morning, and when one assumes this dress only occasionally, some recommend, as a preventative from catching cold, that the legs should be anointed with whiskey. The Gaëlic youth of the better sort were not accommodated with bonnets, shoes, or stockings, even in the rigour of winter, until they were eight or ten years old, and upwards.

The Gelts were not only tall, but were well formed. Amongst the Highlanders, it has been remarked, that there are hardly any crooked or deformed people, except from accident, and some have asserted that they never saw a naturally mis-shapen person in the Highlands. The people of Scotland have, generally, an aversion to persons who have any natural defect, believing them unlucky, and marked out for misfortune;[o] a prejudice that, if not occasioned, may be strengthened by the rareness of these objects.

[m] Campion.

[n] Martin. Memoirs of Donald Macleod. Children among the Goths were dipt in a stream or lake soon after their birth. Pinkerton.

[o] This seems to arise from a belief that the fairies have something to do with them. See one of Kelly's proverbs.

The common Highlanders, from hard, and often scanty fare, are usually inferior in stature to the chief and better sort. This was more perceptible formerly; but although few have attained the gigantic size of "Big Sam," a native of Sutherland, who was porter to the Prince of Wales; they are by no means diminutive. They are well formed, extremely hardy and active. Their erect and easy gait is striking; and an English resident among them, a hundred years ago, remarked that the common people walked "nimbly and upright, and had a kind of stateliness in their poverty."[p] The Irish were noticed, two centuries since, as being "of good proportion and comely stature;"[q] but the personal appearance is so much affected by the supply of food, and manner of life, that, like the Scots, they have not, latterly, been so remarkable for their size.[r] Tyrconnel, at the revolution, raised several regiments, every man of which was six feet high.[s] It was accounted handsome by the Irish ladies, to be tall, round, and fat,[t] but they were also "big and lazy," being suffered from their youth "to grow at will." The ancient Britons, we are told, excelled both in strength and swiftness.[u]

The Celts were undoubtedly very strong, but they were extremely oppressed by the heat of a warm climate, and suffered much from thirst; for they were able to endure a degree of cold that would chill other troops, but were languid and feeble under the rays of an Italian sun.[v]

The hardy manner in which the Celts brought up their youth, contributed, in a very material degree, to produce

[p] Birt. [s] Barnaby Riche.

[r] Luckcombe says, on the authority of a military officer, that Irish recruits were, in general, shorter than those of England.

[s] Dalrymple's Mem. of Great Britain. [t] Campion.

[u] Herodian, iii. 47.

[v] Florus, ii. 4. Plutarch, in vita Crassi. Appian, Parthick's. Livy.

their strong and robust frames, and enabled them, through life, to contend with all sorts of fatigue, and surmount difficulties, which others would have sunk under. The Cimbri exposed themselves naked to showers of snow, and amused themselves by sliding down the frozen Alps on their shields. The indifference of the Highlanders to cold, is evinced by their scanty clothing. A less equivocal proof was formerly afforded, in the fact that they frequently slept in the open air, during the severity of winter. Burt, who wrote in 1725, relates, that he has seen the places which they occupied, and which were known by being free from the snow that deeply covered the ground, except where the heat of their bodies had melted it.

The anecdote which the same writer applies to Keppoch, and others, to a chief of the Camerons, shews how highly they valued themselves on their hardihood. The chief is represented as giving great offence to his clan, by forming the snow into a pillow before he lay down, a plain indication that he was beginning to degenerate.

The Highlanders were so accustomed to sleep in the open air, that the want of shelter was of little consequence to them. It was usual before they lay down, to dip their plaids in water, by which the cloth was less pervious to the wind, and the heat of their bodies produced a warmth, which the woollen, if dry, could not afford. An old man informed me, that a favourite place of repose was under a cover of thick over-hanging heath. The Highlanders in 1745 could scarcely be prevailed on to use tents. It is not long since those who frequented Lawrence fair, St. Sair's, and other markets in the Garioch of Aberdeenshire, gave up the practice of sleeping in the open fields. The horses being on these occasions left to shift for themselves, the inhabitants no longer have their crop spoiled, by their

"upthrough neighbours," with whom they had often bloody contentions, in consequence of these unceremonious visits.

Strabo and Polybius notice that the Celts and Iberi always slept on the ground, even in their houses, a custom which the Scots and Irish retained. If the Highlanders went into other countries, they preferred wrapping themselves in their own plaids, to making use of the beds of the people among whom they came, apprehensive that such indulgence would tend to impair their natural hardiness.

The HAIR of the Celtic race was naturally fair or inclined to red, and they took great pains to deepen the colour. The children, from their birth, were for the most part white or grey headed, but as they grew up the hair became like that of their fathers.[w] Among the Britons it was also yellow, but it was less so than that of the Gauls.[x] The Welsh called the Irish, Wyddil coch, red-haired.[y] In an old poem we find a hero's "body like the white chalk, his hair like the flowing gold;" and an old Cornish song extols a pretty maid for her white face and yellow hair.[z] Flowing locks of this colour were praised as most graceful and becoming, by the bards who addressed the sun as "the golden-haired." This was admired in the Celtic youth of former times, and "the yellow-haired laddie" and "lassie wi' the lint white locks," continue favorites with their descendants in the present day.

The red-haired Spaniard is noticed by Silius,[a] the Getæ plaited their yellow locks, and the Albani glistened with shining hair.[b] The Budini, who were a Getic nation, had also the red hair and blue eyes,[c] which characterized the whole Celtic race. They wore their hair long and flowing, from

[w] Diod. Sic. Amm. Mar. xv. 10. Tacitus. Claudian in Rufinum, iii.
[x] Lucan. Strabo. Cæsar. [y] Roberts.
[z] Pryce's Archæologia.
[a] Lib. xvi. v. 471. [b] Isodore, xix. 23.
[c] Herodotus.

which Gaul received the appellation Comata, or, as Pliny more strongly expresses it, Capillata.[d] They turned it backwards from the forehead to the crown, and thence to their very necks, that their faces might be fully seen. From this manner of wearing it they look, says Diodorus, like Pans and Satyrs.

The Caledonians were distinguished by "their golden hair flowing over their stately shoulders."[e] The long hair of the Britons was turned back on the top of the head, and fell down in a bushy wreath behind.[f] Bondiuca, or Boadicea's hair reached below the middle of her back.

Long hair was a mark of freedom among many nations, slaves being obliged to cut it close. In France it was long regarded as indicative of nobility.[g] In the old laws of Scotland is a curious intimation, "Quhen ane frie man to the end he may have the mantenance of one greit and potent man, randers himselfe to be his bondman in his court, *be the haire* of his foreheid," &c. This is surely derived from a more ancient era than that of the regulated feudal system. The act proceeds to say, that if the man should afterwards withdraw, when brought back, and the surrender of his liberty proved, "his maister may take him *be the nose*, and reduce him to his former slaverie."[h]

Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The long shaggy hair of the Gauls imparted a terrible appearance as they raged about in the field of battle.[i]

[d] Lib. iv. c. 17. [e] "Am follt oir mu an gu aillean ardo."

[f] Whittaker's Hist. of Manchester. [g] Gregory of Tours.

[h] Quoniam Attachiamenta, lvi. Dr. Jamieson has remarked a vestige of this singular custom in the amusement of "Tappie tousie," still practised among the Scots' children. Etymol. Dict.

[i] Amm. Mar. xvi. 10.

The Suevi had a mode of wearing their hair, which was imitated by some of the other Germans, but among these the practice was confined to the youth. It was twisted in a peculiar way, and bound up in a knot, and so fond were the Suevians of this ornament, that even when grey haired, they continued to raise it back in a stern and imposing manner, but with some it was only tied at the top of the head. The princes paid more attention to this arrangement of their hair than the common people, carefully disposing it when going to war, in order to increase their height, and terrify their enemies.[j] Each tribe had perhaps a peculiar fashion of wearing their hair.[k] The head which appears at the end of the first chapter, is from a shield of the Brisigavian auxiliaries, and the one here shewn is from an antique discovered in Holland.[l]

The two figures which form the vignette to this chapter are from an ancient sculpture, and illustrate the peculiar mode of dressing the hair, which Martial calls the "Auris Batavorum;"[m] and the one at the end represents a figure in Montfaucon, of unknown antiquity.

The Catti, who were hardy, robust, and of stern countenance, let their beards and hair grow to a length rarely to be seen amongst other nations. This practice was

[j] Tacitus, de mor. Germ.

[k] "Crinibus in modum tortis venere Sicambri." Martial, ap. Wolfgang.

[l] Petri Serverii, Tab. Ant. Batavicarum.

[m] Caniegetier's Diss. de Brittenburgo, &c. 1734.

usually in consequence of a vow, that they should not cut the hair of their heads or beards until they had slain one of their enemies. When they had been fortunately able to do this, they made bare their face over the gory body, and said that now they had acquitted themselves of the debt contracted by their birth, and rendered themselves worthy of their country and their parents.[n] Thus when Civilis who headed an extensive revolt of the Germans, had routed the Roman legions, we are told that "he cut off his long locks, lank and red."[o] But many of the Catti presented this terrible aspect when white with age, abating nothing of the grimness and horror of their countenances even in peace. These sturdy veterans always occupied the front of the army, and made the first assault.[n] They were indeed a peculiar band, for, avoiding the trouble of any domestic charge, and possessing no house, they wandered about "sorning" on the other members of the community, on whom they appear to have thought they had a good claim for subsistence as long as they lived.

The Britons and inhabitants of Ireland wore their hair long, and allowed their beards to grow only on the upper lip. Even until a later period, the Irish strictly adhered to this ancient practice, which was at last abolished by Act of Parliament, a statute being passed, ordaining none to wear their beards in that manner.[p] "A thicke curled bush of haire hanging downe over their eyes, and monstrously disguising them," was termed "glibes." By cutting off these "writhed glibbes," or letting them fall down on the face, a person was not easily recognised. It was surely in consequence of this custom, that Gildas says the Picts "covered their villanous coun-

[n] Tacitus, de mor. Germ. [o] Tacitus Annal.

[p] Spenser's View of Ireland, p. 32.

tenances with hair,"[q] and that the Irish were stigmatized as "shag-haired villains." Sometimes it would appear, that for their safety they denuded themselves of their hair, but necessity alone compelled the adoption of such a measure, for it was otherwise reckoned "notable villainy to crop the glibbes in front."[r] Cluverius observes that the Irish were the last of the Celtic race who retained the custom of wearing the hair in the ancient manner.[s] The Scots Highlanders, about a century ago, wore it fastened in the peculiar way which is here shewn, and which is a later instance of the ancient mode of hair dressing.

They are yet fond of wearing their hair long; and many are to be seen who continue to tie it behind, in the same manner as represented in the Frontispiece. This fashion of tying the hair was called clubbing, a term evidently derived from the Gaëlic, and more particularly applied to the form used by the women, and not yet laid aside in the north of Scotland, where it is turned up in a knot before and behind.

The practice of encouraging the growth of the hair on the upper lip only, was not without occasional exception. Diodorus says, that while some shaved their beards, others did so but in part, which last method was invariably adopted by people of rank. These allowed the mustachios to grow to such a length, that they fell down over their mouths, and in eating, part of the meat occasionally got en-

[q] Chap. 15. § 2.

[r] Campion.

[s] It was so worn in remote parts, in the seventeenth century. Riche. Indeed, in the end of last century, the Irish sailors continued to plait or dress their hair in a peculiar manner.

tangled in the hair; and when they were drinking, the liquor would run "through the mustachios, as through a sieve."[t]

Both Gauls and Germans often washed their heads, and, to beautify the hair and increase its brightness, they used a preparation of tallow, and ashes of certain vegetables,[u] into which some colouring matter was probably put. We thus see that the Gauls were the inventors of soap, and by its frequent use, in which the men indulged more than the women, their hair became as hard and strong as a horse's mane.[v] In the time of Valens, the Roman troops coming suddenly on the German army, which lay in a valley, beheld some of them washing and bathing in the river, others busy in colouring the hairs of their head, and making it shine like gold.[w]

The care with which these nations cherished their hair was remarkable. A striking instance of their solicitude respecting it, is afforded by a young warrior who was condemned to be beheaded. His last and most earnest request was, that it might not be stained with his blood, or exposed, after his death, to the rude touch of a slave.[x] In some instances, ringlets of auburn hair have been found in the tombs of the early Britons.[y]

The COMPLEXIONS of the Celts were fair and succulent,[z] apparently from their northern climate, but attributed to their being always clothed except in battle,[a] and to their long indulgence in bed during peace. From whatever cause, their bodies were remarkably white, compared with other nations.[b]

That the genuine descendants of this race are distin-

[t] Diod. Sic. [u] Pliny, xxviii, 12. [v] Diod. Sic.
[w] Amm. Mar. xxvii. 1. [x] Henry's Hist. of Britain.
[y] Douglas's Nennia Britannica.
[z] Diod. Sic. "Clear." "White." Amm. Mar. xv. 10.
Livy, xxxviii. 21. [a] [b] Isodorus, xix. 23.

guished like their ancestors, by a dusky, sallow, sunburnt hue, has been asserted by those who have shewn more anxiety to maintain a system, than to investigate truth; but it is unquestionable, that the "candida corpora" and "cœrulei oculi," always characterized the Celtæ. There is nothing more clearly expressed by those ancient authors who have described the people; and these features must have been striking, to be so particularly noticed. The Gauls, the Germans, and the Britons were alike distinguished by their fair hair and blue eyes, and the Goths of later ages differed little from their Celtic progenitors.

Their EYES were blue and large, but when enraged they darted fury, and, having naturally a stern look, it is said to have then been awful.[c] Their aspect must have been remarkable. Ammianus Marcellinus, himself a veteran soldier, who had often fought with these fierce nations, confesses, that in the cast of their eyes there was something terrible.[c]

The women were very beautiful,[d] and were as tall and courageous as the men.[e] The beauty of Claudia Rufina, a British lady,[f] is celebrated by Martial. Ammianus seems to represent the females as stronger than their husbands, but he probably means in domestice warfare only.[g] They paid much attention to their persons, especially in Aquitain, where you could not see a woman, however poor, in foul and ragged clothes, as in other places.[h]

Small eyebrows were considered very beautiful among the ancient Caledonians, and some females received their names from this handsome feature. Caol-mhal signifies a woman with small eyebrows. The heroes of Morven

[c] Amm. Mar. xv. 10, xvi. 10. Tac. de mor. Germ.
[d] Athenæus observes "Celtæ pulcherrimas habent uxores," xiii. 8.
[e] Diodorus. [f] Robert's early History of the Cymri.
[g] xv. 10. [h] Amm. Mar. xv. c. 12.

were not insensible to the power of female eyes. Darthula was so called from the beauty of her's; and a common phrase in the Highlands to this day, when extolling the beauty of a woman, is to say, she is lovely as Darthula.[i]

The TEETH of the Celtæ were sound and of a beautiful whiteness. This is observable in all their interments, where they are found to retain the enamel when every other part has gone to decay. Sir Richard Hoare, who has probably seen more of their sepulchral remains than any other person, has invariably found the teeth well preserved.[j]

The VOICE of the Celts was loud and terrible; and although they spoke little, even their ordinary words were dreadful.[k] "The voice of the Cimbri differed from all other men, and their language was scarcely human: they filled the air with howlings and bellowings, like wild beasts."[l] Pliny, alluding to their defeat by Marius, says, the disaster made them yell again;[m] and the horrid din and clamour which they made the night before the battle, resounded through the woods and mountains, and struck the Roman soldiers with great terror.

From some accounts, the Celtic nations appear more than human. It is to be presumed, that the terror they inspired, occasioned many exaggerated representations of their personal appearance; but there is a sufficient uniformity in the descriptions, to shew that they were a very singular people. They had a terrible aspect, an awful and loud voice; their stern looks were sufficient to intimidate most people, and their bare appearance, when irri-

[i] M'Pherson in Ossian, &c.

[j] See his interesting work on ancient Wiltshire.

[k] Amm. Mar. xv. 10. Livy, vi.

[l] Plutarch in Bello Cimbrico. [m] xxvi. 4.

tated, struck the beholder with terror and dismay. The "loud and sonorous voice" of the ancient Celts was inherited by the Caledonians, and was esteemed a qualification of some importance. When Fingal raised his voice, "Cromla answered around, the sons of the desart stood still, and the fishes of the troubled sea moved to the depths." Columba, when performing service in his church of Iona, is said to have been heard at the distance of a mile and a half.

The Celtic nations spoke very little, and their language was dark and figurative:[n] their manner of talking was solemn and mysterious, the ordinary words of most of them, as well when they were at peace, as when they were irritated, being dreadful and full of menace.[o] They were hyperbolical in their own praise, and spoke contemptuously of all others. "My pointed spear, my sharp sword, my glittering shield," said an old Celtic hero, "are my wealth and riches; with them I plough, with them I sow, and with them I make my wine:—whoever dare not resist my pointed spear, my sharp sword, and my glittering shield, prostrates himself before, and adores me as his lord and his king."[p] The celebrated Macdonald, of Barisdale, in the last century, had a high opinion of his own merits, although he was considered by others as a very licentious freebooter. On the silver ornaments of his sword belt, he displayed his vanity in a classical address to that weapon.[q] "The insolency of the Gauls appears to have been notorious."[r] They were "most grievously provoking;" but if they "were apt to menace others," it was pro-

[n] Diod. Sic. [o] Amm. Mar. xv. 10.

[p] Athenæus, xv. c. 14. See the parabolical speech of the Druid Sithama, in "the fall of Tura." Smith's Gallic Ant. p. 318.

[q] "Hæc tibi erunt artes, pacis componere mores;
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

[r] Polybius iii. See Tac. de mor. i. 66, and throughout his works.

bably most observable towards those who were labouring to subdue them, for most nations are inclined, on such occasions, to utter their defiance in no very pleasing expressions. When Alexander attacked the Scyths, they threw out the most opprobrious and railing language, after their barbarous manner.[s]

The Celts were also extremely irascible, being naturally passionate,[t] managing their affairs more by rage and fury than by reason.[u] The Germans were accustomed to fall upon their enemies, without much consideration, as it appeared, of what they were about; for they did not reason, but went rashly into danger without just hopes.[v] The Gauls were so liable to sudden excitation, that, in the very midst of eating, they would rise in a heat, and, without regard to their lives, fall to it with their swords.[w] As they were hurried into war by an irresistible impatience, proceeding from a simplicity of feeling that prevented reflection, the same sincerity led them soon to relent and be appeased. Their first heat being spent, they often became disheartened,[x] or rather appeared so, and relinquished the prosecution of a war as suddenly as they had engaged in it. An enterprize was abandoned, when the heat in which they took arms had abated. However creditable this might have been to their subsequent reasoning, it subjected them to a charge of inconsistency, and threw a shade on their military fame. Hannibal, in his march through Italy, prevented the Gauls in his army from deserting, by placing his cavalry in the rear,[y] but he certainly gave them the severest part of the service, for they suffered more than any others of his army.

[s] Diodorus. [t] Josephus, Ant. xix. 1. § 15. Seneca de Ira. iii. 3.
[u] Polybius.
[v] Josephus Ant. xix. 1. § 15. Ibid. Jew. Wars, vii. 4. § 2.
[w] Polybius, iii.

They were much given to brawls, and exceedingly insolent; and the women were particularly famous in this sort of wrangling, of which we have a lively description from the pen of honest Marcellinus. "If any of them," says he, "be set a brawling, having the shrew, his wife, (who is commonly the stronger, by far, of the two, and of a sallow complexion,) to take his part, a whole band of strangers is not able to match him; especially when, setting out her big neck, with swollen veins, she falls a grating her teeth and levelling her snow-white arms, of a mighty large size, once begins to lay about her with fists and heels together, like the bolts and darts discharged with violence from a military engine."[x] The Celtæ, as may be readily believed, from their fiery dispositions, were prone to war. Their propensity to fight led them into hostilities on very slight occasions, and impelled them to undertake the most dangerous expeditions. Athenæus says, they would wage war for meat and drink; but, surely, the want of either was a powerful stimulus. The whole race was warlike and fierce, and ready to fight with the greatest ardour, in open contention, without malignity, and with the utmost strength and courage, but accompanied with a rashness and temerity not very compatible with military discipline,[y] and that often brought disasters which their daring and undaunted bravery could not avert. At the same time, this hot temper enabled them to surmount obstacles and achieve exploits that they were perhaps inadequate to accomplish, if unimpassioned. It was equally true of them as of the Scots' Highlanders, who, when kept passive, were observed to "lose their ardour." The military prowess of the Celts was proverbial. Tacitus says, the Germans thought it more honourable to live by their sword

[x] Lib. xv. c. 10. [y] Strabo, iv. p. 195. Polybius, &c.

than the labour of any occupation. "The Gauls," he remarks, "were prompted to fight, by liberty; the Germans, by the allurements of spoil; the Batavians, by glory."[z] "The Celts carried their rights on the points of their swords, and said all things belonged to the brave who had courage to seize them."[a]

These restless warriors repeatedly invaded Italy with terrible devastation. In this country, peopled in the most early ages by the Celtæ, many of the ancient nations continued to preserve their original manners when the Roman empire was in its zenith, and they long retained the martial spirit inherent in the race. Those nations of Gauls which dwelt in Italy, in the beginning, not only held the country, but acquired the alliance of most of their neighbours, who were terrified at their fury.[b]

The Gauls under Brennus, chief of the Senones, having for some cause attacked the Tyrrhenians, the Romans sent ambassadors to learn the reason of the war, who, arriving when the two armies were ready to engage, very inconsiderately joined the latter people, and killed one of their princes. After the battle, the Gauls sent to Rome to demand that the ambassador should be condemned as one who without cause had done them this injury, and thereby given just provocation for war. The justice of the request was at once admitted by the senate, who ordered the offender to be given up; but the influence of his friends prevailed with the people, who insisted on the decree being reversed. The Gauls were greatly enraged when they learned this decision, and increasing their army to seventy thousand they marched straight to Rome. They were

[z] Annals iv. He elsewhere says, the Gauls had become rich and unwarlike. The German wars raged with most fury when he wrote.

[a] Livy, v. 35. [b] Polybius, ii.

met at Alia, ten miles from the city, by the Roman troops, who were speedily driven from the heights where they had posted themselves, in disorder to the plain, and routed with dreadful slaughter.

The victors, according to their custom, spent the first day after the battle in cutting off the heads of the slain; but on the fourth, they advanced to the walls of Rome, broke down the gates, and laid the whole city in ashes, except a few houses on Mount Palatine. They were frustrated in their attempts on the capitol by the well known alarm that was given by the sacred geese, but were only induced to abandon their design on payment of one thousand pounds of gold, with which they retired, after having occupied Rome seven months. So far, indeed, the Celts had done pretty well; but on their march homewards, they attacked Veascus, partly to revenge the assistance which the inhabitants had afforded their enemies, and partly to augment their booty by the sack of the place. The Romans having pursued them under the leading of Camillus, totally overthrew them, and recovered their gold and most of the other plunder.[c] It was only after this repulse of Brennus, that the Romans appear to have taken courage to attack the Italian Celts.[d]

In the time of Asdrubal, the Gauls descended into Italy with fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand cars and horsemen. The Romans, at this time, thought it impossible long to hold their country, unless they had subdued these nations,[e] and, before their final subjection, they were so terrible to the Romans, that, when the Gauls appeared, old age did not excuse any from the war: even the priests, who were exempted from military duty on all other occasions, being obliged to take the field when these formidable

[c] Diod. Sic. xii. [d] Polybius, i. [e] Ibid. ii.

enemies were to be opposed,[f] and they solemnly cursed all who took money from the treasury, except for the Gallic wars.

In the account of the Cimbrian invasion, we have a striking picture of these ferocious nations. The magnitude of the armament filled all Italy with the greatest alarm, and the extraordinary strength and hardihood of these people impressed the Romans with the utmost terror. When they beheld the Cimbri, of immense stature and horrid countenances, exposing themselves naked to showers of snow, climbing to the mountain tops, and sliding down the frozen precipices on their shields, for mere amusement, and tearing up the neighbouring hills to form a passage across a river, &c., the Roman veterans began to desert their colours, and at last fled.[g] Yet by the excellent generalship of Marius, and the military discipline of the Roman army, they were eventually defeated in two battles, with incredible slaughter. Plutarch tells us, the lands of the Massilians were amply manured by the slain, whose bones were so numerous, as afterwards to be used in enclosing the vineyards; the few who escaped the disaster retiring to the mountains around Verona and Vincenza, where their descendants still exist. Before they entered Italy, they had been opposed in their march through Gaul by the Romans, who lost sixty thousand men in the attempt.[h] From the first mention of the Cimbri, the Romans had been two hundred and ten years in conquering Germany, where they lost five armies.[i] Titus, to dissuade the Jews from a war with the Romans, represented to them the madness of contending with those, by whom the strong Ger-

[f] Appian, Civ. Wars, ii.
[g] Polyænus, viii. 10. Plutarch de Bello Cimbrico.
[h] Diod. Sic. Fragment, xxxvi. [i] Tacitus.

mans, who, wherever they went, performed marvellous exploits, had been overcome.[j] "Who is there among you that hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? You have yourselves seen them to be strong and tall:" these "who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts."[k]

The Gauls, he continues, became tributary to the Romans, not because they were of "effeminate minds, or ignoble, for they bore a war of eighty years, for their liberty."[k] These nations, indeed, fought so desperately, that their fame was spread abroad both far and wide, and it was an object with many powerful States, to retain bodies of them in their service, at much expense. Being held in this estimation, and recollecting the daring exploits of their ancestors, it was no wonder that they became so proud of themselves as to despise all other people.[l] Polybius declares, that "never until this day were greater wars than the Gallic, either for obstinacy of courage, or the resolution of the combatants; the greatness of armies, or the slaughter of men."[m] "These are they," says another, "who took Rome; these robbed the temple at Delphos; these laid a great part of Europe and Asia under tribute, and took possession of some of the countries they had subdued: mixing with the Greeks, they were called Gallo-Grecians. They often routed and cut up many great armies of Romans."[l]

The Gauls who had escaped from Delphos, after they had vanquished the Thracians, settled about Byzantium, and built the royal city Tyle. The Byzantines saved

[j] Josephus Jew. Wars, vi. 6, § 2.
[k] Ibid. ii. 16, § 4.
[l] Diod. Sic. v. 2.
[m] Lib. ii.

themselves from plunder by paying tribute to the Gallic king, Comontoire, sometimes thirty thousand, sometimes fifty thousand, and at other times one hundred thousand crowns. Finally, they were forced to give eighty thousand crowns yearly, until the time of Clyare, when the Celts were extirpated by the Thracians.[n]

When any of the Eastern States wished to raise an army for some desperate undertaking, they recruited in Gaul; and when a faithful body-guard was wanted, the Celtæ were engaged at any price. The Carthaginians, especially, had always numerous bodies of these troops in their armies, which were chiefly furnished by Gaul and Spain.[o] Mithradates, king of Pontus, boasted that he had in his army those Gauls who had always frightened the Romans.[p] Dionysius, the tyrant, engaged two thousand Gauls and Celtiberians to assist the Lacedemonians, and gave them five months' pay in advance. The Greeks, who had a sufficiently high opinion of their own abilities, in order to try the valour of their new allies, drew them out against the Bœotians and their confederates, whom they very speedily overthrew. During the time they served, we are told they were of great use, and purchased much renown.[q]

Apollodorus, king of Cassandria in Macedonia, armed and engaged with large rewards a life-guard of these men.[r] Perseus of Macedonia bargained for 20,000 of them; and Herod, king of the Jews, received, as his body-guard, 400 who had served Cleopatra in the same capacity.[s] The Celtic legion, who were the guards of Caligula, hearing of his assassination, instantly drew their swords, and marched to the theatre, determined in their rage to put every soul

[n] Polybius, iv. [o] Diod. &c. [p] Justin, xxxvii.
[q] Diod. Sic. xv. 8. [r] Diod. Sic. [s] Josephus Jew. Wars, i. 20, § 3.

to the sword.[t] The Gauls were among the ancients, what the Swiss have been in modern ages.

The whole education of the Gauls was intended to qualify them for the profession of war. They never permitted their children to appear before them in public, until they were able to bear arms;[u] and to prevent their young men from becoming fat, they were kept at work, and were obliged to wear a girdle, to determine their just size, which if they exceeded, they were fined.[v]

Among the Germans, no one was allowed to bear arms until the community had attested his ability to use them. If found worthy, he was dignified by one of the rulers, or his father, in the midst of a public assembly, with a shield and javeline, and from thenceforward he became a member of the commonwealth.

There was but one sort of public diversion among these people, and it shews in a strong light the estimation in which military prowess was held. The young men flung themselves naked amongst sharp swords and darts, where they fearlessly danced amid the loud applauses of the spectators: a performance which they executed with much grace, but not for hire. To please their admiring countrymen was their sole and highest reward.[w]

The Scotish tribes in Ireland, we are told, trained up their youth to martial exercises from their seventh year, and they were honourably rewarded according to their proficiency.[x] The Scots Highlanders practised the same custom; and as the military character of the Britons closely

[t] Josephus Jew. Ant. xix. i. § 15. [u] Bello Gall.

[v] Strabo, iv. p. 199. [w] Tacitus de mor. Germ.

[x] Harl. MS. 5280 contains an account of the renowned Irish Militia, with their course of probation, and exercises, written before the 10th century, by Gillo Tancoulourd MacTuathal, in the reign of Cormac Mac Airt. Astle has noticed this curious work.

resembled that of the continental Celts, they had also a public investment of their youth with arms. The remains of this custom existed in the Highlands and Isles almost within memory of man. The principal persons in a clan were obliged to give public proof of their valour and dexterity in the use of their arms, before assuming any command.

The first meat which an Irish infant anciently received, was put into its mouth on the point of a sword by the mother, with many imprecations and prayers, that he might not die otherwise than with honour in battle.[x] Giraldus Cambrensis notices a custom, which prevailed in some parts even in the sixteenth century: the right arm was left unchristened, so that it might be able to give a sure and deadly blow.[y]

The Chief himself was not acknowledged until he had thus proved his right.[z] With so careful an attention to military education, is it surprising that the nation should be warlike? To the Caledonians, the Britons of the south said, the Gods themselves were not equal. Herodian describes them as insatiably fond of slaughter; and so little have their pugnacious habits been changed by time, that for nearly eighteen centuries, they have lived in almost continual war, either amongst themselves or with others. From the most early ages, the Scots were extolled for their valour. "Ilz sont asses hardi et chevaleraux de leur personnes," as an old French writer says.[a] And they still

[x] Solinus.

[y] Campion. This reservation could only have been made, from retaining the primitive mode of performing baptism by immersion.

[z] Dr. Macpherson, &c.

[a] Perlin's Description des royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse. Paris, 1558, ed. London, 1775. "Ilz sont hardis et vertueux comme lions;" he elsewhere repeats.

nobly support the character which their ancestors acquired, as fierce and unyielding warriors.

No age among the Gauls was exempt from the wars, from the youth capable of bearing arms to the hoary head; nor was it necessary to urge any to take the field, for all went with the utmost cheerfulness; and it is a remarkable and sanguinary proof of the martial spirit of these stern warriors, that the unfortunate individual who arrived last at their assemblies, was publicly put to death.

No obstacles could deter them from the prosecution of a war, for, when they had once resolved to take up arms, they were determined to encounter the most numerous and fearful disasters.[b]

The Gauls who engaged with Hannibal, declared themselves ready to undergo any danger with him: unfortunately, the campaign turned out none of the easiest,[c] for these daring and hardy auxiliaries.

This forwardness to put themselves on arduous expeditions and readiness to undertake difficult operations, has distinguished the Celts in all ages. At the siege of Roxburgh, in 1322, the Highlanders were ordered to climb a precipice on which the English were posted, which they very soon accomplished, putting the enemy to immediate flight.[d] We also find that Donald of the Isles came to one of the sieges of Roxburgh, with a great body of men, "armed in Highland fashion, with habergions, bows and axes," anxiously desiring leave to march into England before the army, "to take upon them the first press and dint of the battle."[e]

The Romans had no inclination to admit that they were ever defeated, yet, in the various details which are preserved

[b] Amm. Mar. xv. 10.

[c] Polybius. The Gauls always suffered most.

[d] Lord Haile's Annals. [e] Pitscottie's Chronicles, p. 102, 8vo.

concerning the Gallic wars, they acknowledge enough to prove, that, although their military discipline gave them a decided advantage, they never met with a more determined resistance; and, although ultimately successful, many battles were certainly extremely unfavourable, if not dishonourable, to the Roman arms. The testimony which the conquerors of the world have borne to the intrepid bravery and undaunted resolution of the Celtæ, is highly to be esteemed, for the admission of an enemy may be safely received, when discreditable to himself.

Tacitus admits that the Roman arms were tarnished by the brave Germans; and Sallust, in Cataline, says the Gauls were superior in military prowess to his countrymen.[f] The Batavi, Matiarii, and Lancearii, Gallic and German auxiliaries, stood their ground in that battle where the emperor Valens fell, when all the Romans fled.[g] The great Cæsar himself, on many occasions, speaks in terms of admiration of the valour and heroism of these nations. The Nervii, he says, overcame difficulties, which, though seemingly insurmountable, appeared yet as nothing to men of their resolution and magnanimity. In a certain battle, the slain were so numerous as to form a pile, from which the survivors, as from a rampart, continued to hurl their javelins on the enemy, and disputed the field with so much perseverance, that in the sanguinary conflict their name was almost extinguished. On many other occasions, we find whole bodies were slaughtered to a man, rather than yield. The Gallic foot at Telamon, Polybius says, fell on the spot where they had placed themselves.

Their contempt of death was very remarkable. Aristotle says "they fear neither earthquakes nor inundations." This fearless disposition led them to behave as if they were

[f] C. 53. [g] Amm. Mar. xxxi.

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insane, for, according to some writers, they would not retire from their houses if they were falling about their ears, and would rush into the water as if they were able, with sword in hand, to beat back the encroaching waves. However much of this may be true, they certainly fought with a desperation and fury almost incredible. At Thermopylæ, they rushed on the Greeks with a ferocity resembling that of wild beasts; "their rage, while life remained, suffering no abatement, though they were wounded by the battle-axe, cut down with the sword, or pierced with darts and arrows." Some of these Gauls tore the lacerating darts from their bodies, and discharged them back on the Greeks, or, as they lay wounded on the ground, pierced with them those who stood near them.[h]

At the battle of Falkirk, in 1745, the cavalry had rushed on the rebels, broken their ranks, and were trampling them under the horses' feet, "The Highlanders, stretched on the ground, thrust their dirks into the bellies of the horses. Some seized the riders by their clothes, dragged them down and stabbed them; several, again, used their pistols; but few had sufficient space to handle their swords." The cavalry were eventually repulsed, the Highlanders pursuing them and running as fast as the horses could gallop.[i]

No man, says Cæsar, speaking of a battle which lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon until evening, saw the back of an enemy; and, even when compelled to give way, the Gauls rallied at their carriages, and renewed the fight with greater obstinacy, until the night was far spent.[j] In

[h] Pausanias, x. c. 21.

[i] Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 92. On this occasion, Macdonald of Clanrannald was with difficulty rescued from under a dead horse that had fallen on him.

[j] Bello Gall. i. 20.

another engagement with the Romans, the first ranks of the Gallic troops were swept off by the javelins of the enemy, and their army attacked both in front and rear, yet not a man offered to fly, but stood and fought until every soul was cut off.[j]

Amongst many instances of personal bravery and heroism, it is related by the same accomplished writer, who was an eye witness of the transaction, that, at the siege of Avaricum, a Gaul planted himself before the gate and in the face of the whole Roman army, continued to cast balls of burning pitch and tallow, in order to set fire to the towers which the enemy had raised, until he was shot dead by an arrow. The danger of such a position did not prevent its being instantly occupied by another Gaul, who was almost as quickly brought down. His nearest companion, undismayed at death, stepping over the bodies of his brave comrades, resumed the perilous duty and shared their fate. Still a fourth warrior placed himself with alacrity in the fatal spot, and he too fell a speedy sacrifice to his temerity; yet until the conflict ceased, the place was not abandoned.[k]

In the disordered retreat at Culloden, an English cavalry officer advanced in front of his regiment, to catch one of the flying Highlanders who had come rather close to the line. The fellow quickly brought him down with his broadsword, and having dispatched him, he deliberately stopped to take his watch, in front of a whole squadron of the enemy.[l] In that disastrous battle, the heroism of Gillies Mac Bane was most eminently displayed, and worthy of a better fate. This gentleman was major of the regiment of clan MacIntosh; and when the Argyle militia broke down the park wall which enabled them to attack the Highlanders in flank, the brave Gillies stationed

[j] Bello Gall. vii. 56. [k] Bello Gall. vii. 12. [l] Chev. Johnstone.

himself at the gap, and, as the enemy entered, they severely suffered from the irresistible strokes of his claymore. As John Breac Mac Donald, who stood beside him, expressed it, "he mowed them down like dockins." At last, finding himself opposed singly to a whole troop, he set his back to the wall and defended himself with the fierceness of desperation, keeping the enemy long at bay, and killing an almost incredible number. Some officers, admiring his valour, endeavoured to save his life, but poor Gillies fell where he had slain thirteen of his foes. According to some accounts, the number was much greater. A descendant of this brave man, who has lost a leg, resides at Chelsea, and is remarkable for his fine stature and proportion. The following verses are said to be from the pen of Lord Byron:

GILLIES MACBANE.

The clouds may pour down on Culloden's red plain,
But the waters shall flow o'er its crimson in vain;
For their drops shall seem few to the tears for the slain;
But mine are for thee, my brave *Gillies Macbane!*

Though thy cause was the cause of the injur'd and brave;
Though thy death was the hero's, and glorious thy grave;
With thy dead foes around thee, piled high on the plain,
My sad heart bleeds o'er thee, my *Gillies Macbane!*

How the horse and the horseman thy single hand slew!
But what could the mightiest single arm do?
A hundred like thee might the battle regain;
But cold are thy hand and heart, *Gillies Macbane!*

With thy back to the wall, and thy breast to the targe,
Full flashed thy claymore in the face of their charge;
The blood of their boldest that barren turf stain;
But alas!—thine is reddest there, *Gillies Macbane!*

Hewn down, but still battling, thou sunk'st on the ground,
Thy plaid was one gore, and thy breast was one wound;
Thirteen of thy foes by thy right hand lay slain;
Oh! would they were thousands for *Gillies Macbane!*

Oh! loud, and long heard, shall thy coronach be;
And high o'er the heather thy cairn we shall see;
And deep in all bosoms thy name shall remain,
But deepest in mine, dearest *Gillies Macbane!*

And daily the eyes of thy brave Boy before
Shall thy plaid be unfolded; unsheath'd thy claymore;
And the white rose shall bloom on his bonnet again,
Should he prove the true son of my *Gillies Macbane!*

As it was equally shameful for a general to desert his troops, as for them to abandon their commander, he shared the same fate as his followers; and it is related that no prince ever survived the loss of his crown. Correus, the chief of the Bellovaci, though his army was put to the rout, would neither quit the field nor accept of quarter, but continued to fight with undaunted courage, wounding many of the victorious Romans, who were at last obliged to dispatch him with their javelins.[m] "Some," says another, "before all their blood was shed, rose up ere they died, to do some more service. Others, when both knees were tired, bowing the left leg, would rest themselves by thus reclining, yet ready to give a fresh assault, which is a token of obstinacy and stiff resolution, in the highest degree."[n]

At the siege of Amida, the two legions Magnentiæ, raised in Gaul in the time of Constantius and Julius, immortalized themslves. They were composed of valiant men, both active and nimble, excellent for fighting on even ground, but unfit for besieging, for they would not lend a hand to help any man at the engines, or in raising bulwarks,

[m] Bello Gal. viii. 16. Pansa. [n] Amm. Mar.

but fool hardily would sally forth and fight, courageously indeed, but they often returned many fewer than when they went out. When the city gates were at last closed, and they could not by any entreaty be allowed to make their usual sorties, they gnashed their teeth like wild beasts for vexation. At length, throwing off all restraint, they threatened death to the tribunes if they should offer to oppose their resolution of breaking out of the city, to attack the besieging Persians, and forthwith began to hack and hew down the gates with their swords, being exceedingly afraid lest the place should be taken before they had got to the open field, there to perform exploits that were worthy of Gauls. With great difficulty they were induced to wait for a short time, until they could march out, and attack the advanced posts with some appearance of success. They therefore sallied out on a certain night by a postern gate, armed with axes and swords, praying for success to the Heavenly power, but proceeding with the utmost caution, holding their breath until they reached the outwatches, who were instantly dispatched; when the whole body ran furiously toward the camp, designing to surprise the king. But the enemy being alarmed, and speedily standing to their arms, the Gauls made a halt, and most valiantly, with wondrous strength, slashed and cut down with their swords, all that stood in their way. The whole host pouring around them, the Gauls thought it prudent to retreat, and yet not one of them turned his back, but they retired gradually within the rampart, sustaining the overwhelming assault until they at last got into the city at day-break, with the loss of four hundred slain and many wounded, having thus very nearly surprised and killed, not Rhesus and the Thracians before Troy, but the king of the Persians, guarded by a hundred thousand armed men. The leaders of these Gauls, as most valiant heroes, were greatly honoured by the

Emperor, who commanded statues of them, in their arms, to be set up at Edessa, a place of much resort. This is from the pen of Ammianus Marcellinus,[o] who served in the same campaign, and who, in a subsequent book, gives us another anecdote of these heroic warriors. After the death of Julian, the Gauls were pitched on as the most expert swimmers, to cross the Tigris. Whether this was to encourage the rest of the army to attempt the passage, from their success, or, as it would overwise appear, to deter those who thought the plan of attack advisable, by shewing, from the fate of the auxiliaries, the desperate nature of the measure, is doubtful, but the Gauls were let out of the place at night, and, sooner than any one could have imagined, they reached the further bank, and trod under foot, and cut in pieces, those Persians who opposed them.[p]

When the ambassadors of the Celts, who lived near the Ionian bay, met Alexander in the city of the Getæ, with offers of friendship and proposals for a league, that great monarch took an opportunity of asking these people, what they were most afraid of, believing that the dread of incurring his displeasure and suffering from his vengeance, must have been the strongest feelings at the time. The Celts replied with characteristic simplicity and indifference, that they were afraid of nothing more than that the sky should fall on their heads! They were admitted by the conqueror amongst the number of his friends, and dismissed with a remark, that the Celts were a very arrogant people.[q]

The Nervii openly declared their resolution of neither sending ambassadors to Cæsar, nor accepting his peace on any terms.[r]

The obstinate and persevering resistance, and the daring

[o] Lib. xix. c. 5. [p] Ibib. xxv. c. 9.
[q] Arian i. 4. Ed. Amstel. 1668, p. 11. Strabo. [r] Bello Gall.

attacks of the Celtæ, more particularly the British tribes, could not fail to make a strong impression on the Romans. None of the race were more ardent in the cause of liberty than the Britons; and before they had to contend for their own freedom, they were in the practice of assisting their friends on the continent with considerable bodies of troops, during their desperate contentions with the Romans, which is the chief cause assigned for Cæsar's invasion. Tacitus avers that the natives surpassed the Gauls in bravery and love of freedom, and declares that Cæsar "by a prosperous battle only struck the natives with terror,—that he was the discoverer, not the conqueror of the island."

The fortitude and unshaken perseverance of the Britons, their vigilance and enterprise in their endeavours to preserve their independence, are amply evinced throughout the long and sanguinary struggle. Nothing but the superior arms and discipline of the Romans, assisted by the introduction of arts, the enervating baits of pleasure, and charms of vice, enabled them to provinciate and keep possession of the southern parts of the island. Their tremendous power could not but have been long known to the Britons, through the Gauls, who had themselves experienced it, at the cost of upwards of a million of men, slain in the field, yet the appearance of those mighty conquerors on the shores of Albion did not dispirit the warlike inhabitants.

Cæsar, on his first descent, was evidently defeated.[a] He procured from his country a thanks offering of twenty days, but the only proofs of his conquest were two hostages, received from cities perhaps not quite removed from Roman influence. In his second attempt, the natives were more resolutely determined to resist his arms, and the bloody conflict that ensued on his landing, is almost admitted to

[a] Lucan, with whom Tysilio, an ancient Welsh Bard, coincides. Robert's early Hist. of the Cumri.

have ended in his defeat. After his death, Britain was scarcely considered as a Roman acquisition, and it was reserved for succeeding commanders, by sacrifices of blood and maxims of deep policy, to break the spirit, and sap the virtues of a rude and patriotic people.

The island became better known after the Romans had established themselves, and its intercourse with the continent had consequently increased, while Gaul, finally reduced to subjection, was but a province of the mighty empire. Several of the tribes also began to find the advantage of the alliance and protection of their conquerors,—dissensions were fomented in favour of the Romans, and disunion facilitated the complete subjugation of South Britain.[1]

Fierce and daring by nature, the inhabitants were subdued to quiescence with that refined policy, which, by the fascinations of luxury, gilds while it rivets the chains of slavery, and brings the enervated wearer to submit, without regret, to wear a yoke, which still preserves an appearance of independence. In the pleasures of Roman society and civilization, the tributary Briton forgot his subjection; but a numerous part of the population sternly refused all advantages, as unworthy of comparison with the enjoyment of liberty. The free and unconquered tribes, by the incessant annoyance they gave to the legions, made Britain a most troublesome and precarious acquisition. Although often coerced, the high-spirited Celts were never broken-hearted. The Caledonians, although amazed at the vast armies and fleets led against them, were not daunted, but made extensive preparation for the defence of their country, and that with so much ardour and assiduity, that

[1] The Chamavii and Angrivarii vanquished the Bructeri in a pitched battle, wherein the latter lost sixty thousand men, "to the joy and recreation of the Romans," exclaims Tacitus, in the enthusiasm of Amor Patriæ.

Tacitus, in relating the expedition of Agricola, astonished at the greatness of their exertions, insinuates that it was very much magnified by fame. Not only did they stand on the defensive, but immediately began to storm the Roman forts and castles, and, by the boldness of their proceedings, struck Agricola's army with terror. When repulsed in an attack which they made on the ninth legion, they nevertheless "abated nothing from their ferocity; they ascribed their failure to the chance of war, and not to their inferiority, and boldly continued to keep the field." Defeat seems on this, as on other occasions, to have roused the Celts to greater exertions. The youth, and even the old men poured to the army from all quarters, and, undismayed by former losses, they posted themselves with firm determination to stand for their country and their liberties, at the foot of the Grampians. There they were indeed defeated, but they did not submit to the victors. They rallied their forces in the woods, and checked the pursuit. The Romans were obliged to retire southwards, the Caledonians followed them, retook the districts which had been overrun, demolished the fortifications that had been recently erected, and again saw their country freed from the presence of their enemies, and burning with revenge, they passed the walls and ravaged the northern provinces.

Hadrian, Severus, and other emperors, visited Britain for the express purpose of subduing the refractory tribes, and securing the northern frontier, but their powerful armies and vigorous operations failed in subduing the stubborn natives. Neither the formation of military roads, by which they were enabled to conduct armies with facility into the recesses of the country, nor the establishment of numerous stations and forts of great strength, produced this desirable result. Nor did the high-minded Caledonians value the offer of citizenship, which they could have freely

embraced; but notwithstanding the repeated losses, and severe chastisements which their temerity brought on them, they obstinately preferred a life of freedom, to an existence branded with the mark of subjection.

The continued efforts of the Welsh to preserve their independence, were worthy of a branch of the great Celtic race. Gir. Cambrensis says, that Henry II. informed the Emperor Emanuel, that they were so warlike, it was easier to tame wild beasts, than daunt their courage.

The determined opposition which the Scots ever made to the attempts of the English Kings, to reduce them to subjection, is a proof of the high value they set on national independence, and the steadiness with which they continued to protect it. Although the country was repeatedly overrun by the armies of England, the national archives and regalia carried off, they valiantly contended under the illustrious Wallace and Bruce, until they had finally achieved their complete emancipation.

"It is not glory," say the Scots nobility, in their letter to Pope John, in 1320, concerning their wrongs, "it is not riches, neither is it honour, but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life."

The long and persevering exertions of the Scots, in the cause of the Stewarts, is no less worthy of remark. The misfortunes of the gallant Montrose, and no less worthy Dundee, and the severe punishments which their frequent rebellions brought on them, did not detach them from the interest of the expatriated family. After the accession of the Prince of Orange, the Highlanders became more submissive; but one of Dundee's unfortunate officers says that "nothing but King James's special command" could have put a period to the war at that time. The clans, however, took the field in 1715, were in arms in 1719, and were still

ready to vindicate their supposed liberties in 1745, when the final struggle of the Celtic race for their independence took place.

On this last occasion, the privations they suffered did not impair their ardour. Their cheerfulness never forsook them, even when they were in want of almost every necessary, were surrounded with difficulties, and had to undergo extreme fatigue. On their retreat from England, although they had performed with astonishing celerity a long march in a bad season, as soon as they had forded the Eske, which reached as high as the neck, and were in Scotland, the pipers struck up their favorite strath-speys, and most of the army began to dance.

When the Highlanders rendezvoused at Ruthven after the battle at Culloden, instead of being depressed at their loss, they scarcely considered it a defeat, but were burning with impatience for revenge. "I was delighted," says the Chevalier Johnstone, "to see their gaiety."

Civilis, a celebrated German leader, attacked the Roman army four times in one day, and instances are found of the Gauls maintaining desperate battles for several successive days, such was the persevering obstinacy of these nations.

Dundee's troops in many of their marches, which were always made with wonderful expedition, had neither bread, salt, nor any sort of liquor except water, and that during several weeks, yet they never complained.

The Highlanders were well known to be "a people, that can endure all the hardships of war, being bred to all manner of cunning in relation thereto."[u]

Sir J. Dalrymple, in his Memoirs of Great Britain, ii. p. 53, thus speaks of them. "The lightness and looseness of their dress, the habit they had of going always on foot,

[u] Scotia Indiculum, 1682.

and never on horseback, their love of long journeys, but above all, that patience of hunger and every kind of hardship, which carried their bodies forward, even after their spirits were exhausted, made them exceed all other European nations in speed and perseverance of march. Montrose's marches were sometimes sixty miles a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, and through morasses, &c."

"It is not easy," says Home, "to conceive how they really did live, and how they endured the want of those things which other people call the conveniences and even the necessaries of life."

When the Highland companies were raised in the service of government, it was soon observed that they became less hardy than their countrymen who lived in their wonted state of rudeness and freedom.

CHAPTER V.

CUSTOMS IN WAR AND MILITARY TACTICS.

When the Celtæ had determined to engage in a war, the various states in confederation assembled in arms, to deliberate on the mode of conducting the campaign, and to arrange the plan of operation, and this meeting was reckoned the commencement of hostilities. No measures were necessary to compel the attendance, at this convention, of any who were able to carry arms, which was nearly the whole population, "every age being most meet for war." Both the old men and the youth took the field with the utmost promptitude and enthusiasm, the only anxiety being to arrive first at the place of meeting. When Caractacus went to battle, "none would stay at home; they followed him freely, and maintained themselves at their own ex-

pense."[a] No Gaul was ever known to cut off his thumb, as was done by others, to prevent his going to the wars, a practice for which the parties received the appellation *Murcos*. There is an instance of a Welsh prince going to war at the early age of ten years; and in the Scots' rebellions, mere boys are celebrated for a display of bravery that would have done honour to veteran soldiers.

The Germans seem to have been less punctual in their meetings; the second, and sometimes the third, day elapsed before all had assembled, an evil that apparently arose from the liberty they enjoyed, in not being compelled to attend otherwise than from inclination. Like the Gauls, they transacted nothing without being armed. They sat down where they chose, without any distinction of persons; and when all had assembled, the priests enjoined silence. The king was first heard, and all others according to precedence in age or nobility, in warlike renown or in eloquence. If a proposition displeased the assembly, it was rejected by a slight murmur;—if pleasing, it was received by the brandishing of javelines and by the rattling of their arms, which was the most honourable expression of assent.[b] It was customary, when a chief had stated his determination to lead an expedition, that those who approved of it, rose up before the assembly, and pledged themselves to follow him; and to break such an engagement was to lose their honour, which they could never afterwards regain.[c]

No affair of moment could be decided without this general assembly of the people. The Belgæ held a council to

[a] Triad, 79. ap. Robert's early Hist. of the Cymri.

[b] Tac. de mor. Germ. He elsewhere says it was also customary with them to beat the ground with their feet.

[c] Bello Gall.

advise on the means of opposing Cæsar, and on his advance other great assemblages took place.

It was a hazardous attempt for the Celtic chiefs to engage in war without the sanction of their people, notwithstanding the strength of the clannish attachment, and power of the nobility. An expedition into Italy being undertaken in this irregular manner, a mutiny ensued, when Gallus and Etas, two of their kings, lost their lives in the tumult.[d] Lord Murray raised one thousand men on his father and Lord Lovat's estates, under an assurance that they were to serve James, but, in fact, to use them in the service of King William. Having discovered this, while Murray was reviewing them, they suddenly broke from their ranks, ran to an adjoining brook, and, filling their bonnets with water, drank to King James's health, and marched off, with pipes playing, to join Lord Dundee.[e]

The public assemblies were convoked, and an army raised with astonishing expedition. Information was speedily conveyed throughout the provinces of Gaul; for, when an event was learned by one state, it was immediately imparted to the others, a system eminently beneficial during war, and for which their swiftness of foot was well adapted. An action that took place near Genabum, at sun rise, was known at Arverni, by nine o'clock at night, a distance of 160 miles! This telegraphic rapidity has a parallel only in the methods by which the Celtic nations of Britain roused the various tribes to arms, while the ancient system remained entire. Fire was a ready and effectual method of arousing the inhabitants of a district, and the practice continued among the Highlanders until recent times. The crest of the Mackenzies is Tullach ard, with "the warning flame" on its summit, being the beacon whence the clan was

[d] Polybius, lib. ii. [e] Dalrymple's Mem. part ii. b. i. p. 45.

apprised of danger; but the most remarkable practice was by the Croish or Cran-taraidh, the cross or beam of gathering of the Highlanders. When the chief was aware of the approach of an enemy, he immediately, with his own sword, killed a goat, and dipping in the blood the ends of a cross of wood, that had been half burned, gave it, with the name of the place of meeting, to one of the clan, who carried it with the utmost celerity to the next dwelling, or put it in the hands of some one he met, who ran forward in the same manner, until, in a few hours, the whole clan, from the most remote situations, were collected in arms at the place appointed. In delivering the Cran-taraidh, the place of meeting, which was generally some well known spot peculiar to each clan, was the only word that was spoken, the symbol itself was familiar; it threatened fire and sword to those of the tribe who did not instantly repair to the standard of the chief. The last time this singular custom was practised, was during the rebellion of 1745, when some disaffected person sent it through Braidalban, when it is said to have passed over thirty-six miles in three hours.

The Northern nations had a similar instrument, one end of which was burnt, and to the other was fastened a cord, to denote that those who disobeyed the summons should be hanged. It appears to have been sometimes hung on a ship's mast, which corresponds to the custom among the ancient Gaël of suspending a shield sprinkled with blood, in like manner, when requesting assistance.[f]

It was also usual to convey intelligence, by one or more persons ascending an eminence, and there raising a loud shout, which being heard at a distance by others, was repeated to those who were farther distant, and in this man-

[f] Olaus Magnus. M'Pherson in Ossian. Fosbrooke's Encyc. of Ant.

ner information was transmitted with surprising expedition. This practice was continued among the Irish and Welsh until late times, and was called the Hubub. In Wales "when any thing happens, a person goes to an eminence and there cries the Houboub; those who hear it do the same, and the country is speedily in arms."[g] Bub, in Gaëlic, is a yell.

The Piobrach, among the Highlanders, did not supersede the use of the Cran-taraidh. Although this species of pipe music is strictly appropriated to war, and was played when the forces were rising, yet it is evident the notes of that instrument, loud as they are, could not answer the purpose effectually. Among the old Caledonians, to send an arrow to any party was a signal of war. A symbol by which they conveyed a wish for immediate conflict was a spear having some burning matter attached to it.[h] The war cries were also used for gathering the respective clans, and will be hereafter noticed.

Ammianus notices the facility with which the Germans could renew their armies. Some of these nations had moreover a regular system of recruiting, for he tells us that every village sent one hundred men, and hence arose the name amongst thom, of "those of the hundred band."[i]

It was not unusual to engage tribes who were otherwise uninterested in the war, to serve as mercenaries, but it was more generally the case that these auxiliaries assisted their friends "for the like service when they required it."[j] The Arverni hired upwards of one hundred thousand Germans in their wars with the Æduans.[k] The Irish and Scots

[g] Edmond's Transl. of Cæsar's Commentaries, p. 154, &c.

[h] Ossian. [i] Lib. xvii. [j] Amm. Mar. xv. 10.

[k] Bello Gall. i. 33. In Cæsar's time, Gaul was divided into these two factions.

reciprocally assisted each other. Thus, Tyrone, in 1586, sent troops to Angus MacConnal of the Isles, on condition of receiving a like return; and many traditional stories are current in the Highlands, of chiefs having lent their men to their neighbours, for stated periods of service.

At the great assemblies of the Gauls, it was decided to what chief the supreme command should be given, and whoever was thus appointed, his nation took the lead, and gave name to the whole confederation, and the election was the free choice of the meeting. The Bellovaci, aware of their superiority in numbers and renown, asked the command of the Belgic forces that were about to take the field against Cæsar; but Galba, son of the famous Divitiac, who had raised the Suessiones to so great power, was unanimously voted the command, from a sense of his justice and prudence. There was usually a single leader appointed to conduct the war; but, latterly, two or more were sometimes vested with equal authority.[m] It is likely these elections sometimes occasioned disputes. Trenmhor, the Caledonian king, to reconcile the chiefs who were contending for the honour of leading the attack, bade them take the command by turns. Among these tribes we learn that the different chiefs, standing apart, struck their shields, to determine who should have the honour of leading the war. The bards, who here seem to have come in place of the Druids, attending in a proper situation "marked the sounds," and the owner of that which they found to ring loudest, obtained the appointment.[n] The practice among the ancient Irish is thus represented. Before entering on an expedition, the Ard Riah, or provincial chief, summoned all the people, who met on the raths in arms, and as many as chose to engage in the enterprise selected a leader, on condition of a mutual divi-

[l] Bello Gall. ii. 3. [m] Amm. Mar. xvi. 10. [n] Catholda.

sion of the spoil, and, as may be supposed, their choice generally fell on the Ard Riah. He then communicated the decision to subordinate Riahs, and they to the Aireach, who informed the lower officers in the Rath, until all were apprised of the intended war. The equal division of the spoil was strictly observed. It is related of Clovis, that having requested on one occasion a certain vase, was answered that he should receive nothing but what by lot he had a right to, and indignantly struck the vessel to pieces with his axe.

On the election of a commander, he was carried about, seated on a shield, carried on men's shoulders. Brinno, a Caninefatian, being chosen, was thus borne in procession, according to the ancient custom.[o]

A council of officers, or subordinate commanders, was appointed to these Generals, who are poetically styled "rulers of the war" by the Caledonian bards, and, although, as commanders in chief, they were invested with a supreme power, yet they were so controuled by the popular constitution of their tribes, that they dared not abuse their authority. They were, in fact, accountable to the people for their conduct, and, notwithstanding the ties of consanguinity, by which the chief was linked to his followers, he was sometimes impeached, and even put to death. We find the Gallic leaders, after the loss of a battle, of a town, or suffering any other disaster, very anxious to vindicate themselves to their constituents from the charge of mismanagement. The Burgundian King, who, by a general name, was called Hendinos, was deposed, if a war under his direction turned out unsuccessful.[p]

If the troops had sufficient power to controul the chief, he had generally the prudence to yield to their desires.

[o] Tacitus. [p] Amm. Mar. xviii. 12.

The German soldiers, on occasion of a battle with the Romans, obliged their leaders to alight from their horses and fight in the ranks with their men, that they might have no advantage over them, or, in case of defeat, might be able to make their escape. The Princes instantly complied with the wish of their troops, and, charging at their head, cut their way to the main body of the enemy.[q]

The Gallic Princes are always found in the field of battle, and usually where the fight was hottest. It was, however, a singular custom among the Caledonian chiefs to retire a little distance, and not join in the combat, unless on pressing occasions, when their immediate presence was necessary to inspirit and rally their troops. "When mighty danger rose, then was the hour of the king to conquer in the field."[r]

It was customary for the Celtæ to confirm their decisions by oath, and their most sacred obligation was swearing before or under their standards,[s] but several other forms of asseveration are preserved. The Insubrians swore they would not unloose their belts until they had sacked Rome. On another occasion, the Gauls, who had taken up arms, unanimously emitted a prayer, that the Gods might never more suffer them to return to their homes, if they failed in prosecuting the war with due ardour, and that they might be no more acknowledged by their wives, their children, or their relations.[t] The Germans sealed a truce, with a form of oath according to their own fashion.[u] When Caractacus received the command of the Silures, they all took a most solemn vow "never to yield to arms, or wounds, or aught save death."[v] The Caledonians under Galgacus confirmed their engagements with sacrifices

[q] Ibid. xvi. 10. [r] Ossian. [s] Bello Gall. vii. 2.
[t] Bello Gall. vii. 29. [u] Amm. Mar. xvii. 1. [v] Tacitus, Annal. xii.

and the immolation of victims;[w] and from the work of an ancient Bard we find that swearing by the sun was the most solemn oath of these mountaineers. It is related of Manos, in an ancient poem, that having sworn on his shield, and broken his oath, he was universally despised.[x]

The Gaelic chiefs also, as a bond of indissoluble friendship, sometimes drank a few drops of each others' blood; and to violate this sacred pledge was infamy through life.[y] The Irish had a similar custom, but accompanied with many superstitious observances. They went to a church, where they were carried on each other's back a few paces in a circular form, kissing the relics, &c.; then each drawing a little of his blood, it was mutually drank.[z] In the worship of Hertha, the Northern nations swore *fast brotherhood* by cutting a long strip of green sod, leaving one end attached to the earth, when the other being raised on the top of a spear, they passed under it, wounding themselves and mixing the blood and earth together. The ceremony was completed by falling on their knees, and solemnly pledging themselves to inviolable friendship.[a] The common form of swearing among the Highlanders was upon a drawn dirk, which they usually kissed. Martin tells us it was reckoned a great indignity to assert anything by the hand of a father; but if to this, one were to add that of a grandfather, the answer to be expected was a knock down blow. Each clan appears to have formed an oath for itself. The name of the chief seems to have been in this respect highly venerated, and many do not appear to have thought swearing on the Gospels more binding. It is

[w] Tacitus. [x] Smith's Gallic Ant.

[y] Martin's West. Islands, p. 107.

[z] Gir. Camb. ap. Campion. The Scythians, to bind their contracts, pricked themselves in the arm, and drank each others' blood. Herodotus. [a] Dr. Hibbert.

related of a Highlander, that readily offering to kiss the bible, the prosecutor shrewdly suspecting the reason, tendered the clan oath, which the witness absolutely refused to take. When a Highlander took an oath on the sacred volume, he did not kiss it, which indeed is not the practice in Scotland, but held up his hand, and said to this purpose: "By God himself, and as I shall answer to God at the great day, I shall speak the truth: if I do not, may I never thrive while I live; may I go to hell and be damned when I die; may my land bear neither grass nor corn; may my wife and bairns never prosper; may my cows, calves, sheep, and lambs, all perish, &c."[b] The Irish, before an attack, swore on their swords, with which they made a cross, and, muttering charms, stuck their points in the ground.[c] In 1578, nineteen of the Earl of Desmond's followers forswore God if they spared life, land, or goods, in enabling him to resist the lord-deputy.[d] To swear by the hand of their chief, was a most solemn oath. If found to have made a false asseveration, and such a case is not impossible, the landlord, we are told, made them pay soundly for it. O'Neil's peculiar oath was by Bachull Murry, or St. Murran's staff, which is said to be still preserved. "By the blessed stone!" is an expression of the present Irish. To swear on the black stones, was a solemn oath of the West Islanders.

The Celtic chiefs took great pride in being surrounded by a numerous band of choice troops as guards. These were his own relations and clients, who were devoted to his service, and were the finest men of the tribe. The body guards of Brennus, as they stood around him at Delphos, were remarked as the tallest men of all his army.[f] The

[b] Birt. The Irish thought the bigger the book was, the greater the oath [c] Spenser. [d] Desiderata curiosa Hibernica.
[e] Riche, p. 29. 48. [f] Pausanias, x. 23.

Germans were no less emulous in the number and appearance of their followers than the Gauls. It was their pride to be surrounded by a company of chosen young men for ornament and glory in peace,—security and defence in war. In battle, it was a shame for the Prince to be surpassed in feats of prowess, and scandalous for his followers not to equal their chief; and it was lasting infamy for them to return from the conflict when their leader was slain.[s] Such a body was the Soldurii of the Gauls, "sworn friends," who never survived their commander. Adcantuan of Aquitain had six hundred of these followers.

The Luchdtachk of the Highlanders was an exactly similar body in organization and devotion to their chief, and it was composed of young men of the best families in the clan, who were expressly educated for the service. They were anciently armed with darts and dirks, and their special duty was to attend the person of their chief. Their favourite amusement was wrestling, at which they were most expert; and when the chiefs were visiting each other, it was usual for their followers to begin this exercise, which they did with great emulation, often, when not prevented, resorting to downright-fighting. This company was usually selected by the heir, or Tanist, who was himself obliged to demonstrate his right to command them, and his claim to the chieftainship, by giving a specimen of his valour. It was, therefore, customary for him to lead them on some desperate foray, from which they were expected to bring home a prey of cattle or other spoil, or die in the attempt. After this exploit, if successful, the fame of the young chief and his associates was fully established. These companies were called Catharn, a word signifying fighting bands, otherwise pronounced Cearnachs and Kerns.

[s] Tacitus de mor. Germ.

As it must have been the ambition of all the young men to enrol themselves in the Catharn, they were most likely in some cases numerous; but, except in actual war, the chief carried no more attendants with him than those who composed his regular retinue, or *tail;* an establishment by no means scanty, for it comprised ten or more persons, besides several others, who found some pretext or other for their presence.

A company of soldiers like the Catharn required to be kept in action, and as the tribe could not be always at war, they undertook expeditions to revenge old injuries, and procure booty, or exalt their military fame; but the favorite recreation with these warriors was to make a foray on the Lowland plains, and enrich themselves by a valuable creach. Hence the name of Cearnach was reckoned honorable, and was applicable to those chiefs who distinguished themselves; as Rob Roy M'Gregor, Mac Donald of Barisdale, Gilderoy, and others, have done. These men were far from thinking so meanly of themselves as their Lowland countrymen did, who had often too much reason to dread the visits of "the Catrin."

The Lusitanian young men associated in bodies in the mountains, which they occupied as if it were formed by nature solely for themselves, and from whence they made incursions into Spain and amassed great riches by their robberies; and, although the Romans checked, they were unable to put an end to these inroads.

The following character may compare with Mac Gregor or Wallace himself, and is a curious specimen of an ancient Celtic Cearnach. The account is extracted from the preserved fragments of the lost books of Diodorus the Sicilian. Viriathus of Lusitania, a captain of those robbers, was of incredible sobriety and vigilance. He was just and exact in dividing the spoil, and rewarding those

who had behaved themselves valiantly in battle; and in its distribution he never took a greater share to himself than what was assigned to others; nor did he ever convert to his own use any of the public monies, and therefore his men never shrunk from any undertaking, however hazardous, when he commanded and led them on. In his leagues and treaties he was exactly faithful to his word, and always spoke plainly and sincerely what he intended. When, at his marriage, many gold and silver cups, and all sorts of rich carpets, were set forth to grace the solemnity, he held all on the point of his lance, not with admiration, but rather with scorn and contempt. When he had spoken for a considerable time with much wisdom and prudence, he concluded with many apposite and forcible expressions, particularly with this very remarkable one * * * *[h] By this saying, he meant to shew that it was the greatest imprudence to trust in the uncertain gifts of Fortune, since all those riches, so much esteemed by his father-in-law, were liable to be carried off by some one, on his spear's point. He farther added, that his father-in-law ought rather to thank him, who was lord of all, for taking nothing of him. Viriathus, therefore, neither washed nor sat down, although entreated to do so, nor did he partake of the rich dishes of meat, with which the table was plentifully spread, but took and distributed some bread and flesh among those that came along with him. After he had little more than tasted the meat himself, he ordered his bride to be brought to him, and having sacrificed in manner of the Celtiberians, he mounted her on horseback, and straightway carried her away to the mountains; for he accounted sobriety and temperance the greatest riches, and the liberty of his country, gained by valour, the surest possession. For eleven

[h] This part is unfortunately lost.

years he commanded the Lusitani, who, after his death, were broken and dispersed. He was buried with great pomp and state. Two hundred gladiators were matched singly with as many more, and fought duels at his sepulchre, in honour of a man who was so remarkably valiant and just."[i]

The Gauls are said to have sat down when they were drawn up in order of battle.[k] The passage is thought by some to be corrupted; by others, it is explained as meaning that the troops rested on their fascines or baggage, of which they always carried a great quantity, arranging the waggons around the camp as a sort of entrenchment, behind which they made a most obstinate defence when hard pressed. The fascines were sometimes set on fire, and an army effected its retreat under cover of the dense smoke.

The Germans pitched down their standards immediately on halting or taking up a position.[l] It does not appear in what order the Celtic armies marched. When the Caledonians passed through the territories of a friendly tribe, they reversed their spears, carrying the points behind.

Both Gauls and Germans were invariably drawn up in different battalia, the disposal of which appears to have been so well determined from ancient times, that the chief in command dared scarcely venture to make any variation. Each tribe fought under the immediate direction of its own chieftain, and was, if possible, assigned that position, which, according to order and precedence, had been long settled. Vercingetorix, a celebrated Gallic chief, "disposed his army according to their several districts."[m] In the British army, under the renowned Caradoc, or Caractacus, whose fame had excited a universal desire in

[i] Diodorus Sic. Fragmenta Valesii, lib. xx. § 93, 99, and 108.
[k] Bello Gall. viii. [l] Amm. Marcel. xxvii. 9. [m] Bello Gall. vii. 18.

Italy to behold so noble a warrior, we find "the troops of the several countries stood in front of their fortifications;" and when the unfortunate Bondiuca fought her last disastrous battle, the warriors stood in separate bands. A common mode of drawing up a British army, in the fifth century, was in nine divisions, three of which were in front, three in the centre, and three in the rear.[o]

The right of certain situations in a field of battle was accounted a point of extreme importance among the Celts. At the battle of the Standard, 1138, the Picts contended for their right to lead the van of the Scots' army, and their claim was allowed. On that occasion, the third line was formed of the clans under the command of their different chiefs.

The Highlanders have always been most jealous of their accustomed right to certain positions in the line of battle, and rather than submit to the indignity of being placed in any other situation than that to which they were entitled, they would allow their army to be disgraced by defeat. A fatal omission on the part of Prince Charles, in 1745, occasioned him the loss of that battle, which finally terminated the hopes of his family. On the field of Culloden, the Mac Donalds were unfortunately placed on the left instead of the right wing, to which they asserted an ancient right, and not a man but the heroic Keppoch would draw a sword that day. An officer of that division thus writes concerning the conduct of his clan. "We, of the clan Mac Donalds, thought it ominous we had not this day the right-hand in battle, as formerly, and as we enjoyed when the event proved successful, as at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, and which our clan maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles in behalf of our

[n] Tacitus in Annal. xiv. [o] Vegetius, ii. 2.

royal family, since the battle of Bannockburn, on which glorious day Robert the Bruce bestowed this honour upon Angus Mac Donald, Lord of the Isles, as a reward for his never-to-be-forgot fidelity to that brave prince; in protecting him for above nine months in his country of Rachlin, Isla, and Uist. This right we have, I say, enjoyed ever since, unless when yielded by us out of favour upon particular occasions, as was done to the Laird of Mac Lean, at the battle of Harlaw; but our sweet-natured prince was prevailed on by L. and his faction to assign this honour to another on this fatal day, which right, we judge, they will not refuse to yield us back again on the next fighting day."[p] These Mac Donalds were not of the opinion of an ancient lord of that name. He had, by some mistake, at an entertainment, been prevented from taking his place at the head of the table, which occasioned several remarks among the guests. On being told what engaged their attention, he exclaimed aloud, "Know, gentlemen, that where Mac Donald sits, *that* is the head of the table."

The Saxons retained the ancient custom of arranging their armies by tribes, the head of a family leading all the members to battle. The Tricastines, a people who lived about Troies, assaulted the Emperor Julian's army by troops, while their main body was drawn up with strong wings and flanks, close together.[q] Ammianus describes an army as being led by two kings, who were joint commanders, next to whom were five princes, second in rank to the kings and the princes of the blood royal.[r] The Caledonian kings were accustomed to retire to an eminence the night previous to a battle, apparently for the purpose of obtaining, by visions from their ancestors, a knowledge

[p] Note in Memoirs of Chevalier Johnstone, quoted from Lockhart's papers, ii. 510. [q] Amm. Mar. xvi. 1. [r] xvi. 10.

of the result of the impending conflict. The Scandinavians appear also to have used this custom.[s] The German battalions were formed sharp in front, or drawn up in a triangular figure. Tacitus, speaking of the Batavi, says, this body was impenetrable on every side, and in advancing it pierced through the firmest legions.[t] The army of Donald of the Isles, at the battle of Harlaw, was drawn up in the cuniform order, and old Highlanders sometimes even now speak of Geinneach-cath, the wedge form, without appearing to know its meaning. The name of a Pictish cohort seems never to have been understood. It was called Geone, and was no other than the wedge-formed battalion.[u]

The old Irish are represented as marching forward "with three and three in ranckes beset," and crowding together when on the point of engaging.[v] Their armies had also many "loose wings." The Highlanders were accustomed to arrange themselves three deep, and, by simply facing about, the regiment was in marching order. When the Gauls were drawn up ready for battle, they indulged in the most opprobrious and provoking language towards their enemies. In "a letter from a soldier in Ireland, 1602," Tyrone's men are represented as advancing within sixty paces of the English horse, and then stopping after their fashion, shaking their staves, and "railingly vaunting." Arrian notices how grievously provoking the Celts were, and Ælian has a chapter on their audacity. The practice of using scornful and contemptuous language on such occasions was not, however, peculiar to the Celtæ. The refined Greeks did not hesitate to use reviling language in battle.[w]

Before an engagement, it was usual for some to step

[s] Ossian. [t] De mor. Germ. [u] Adomnan, i. 33.
[v] Derrick's Image of Ireland. [w] Pausan. iv. 8.

out, and, brandishing their weapons, challenge the stoutest of their opponents to single combat. If any one accepted the challenge, the Celtic warriors sang loudly in praise of the valour of their ancestors and their own virtues, vilifying their adversaries, and insulting them for want of courage and military renown.*

From the success of the parties, they anticipated victory or defeat in the general engagement. Another method was to get hold, by any means, of one of the enemy, with whom they set one of their own men to fight, each armed in his own way, and from the fate of the combatants a presage of the war was drawn. It was, perhaps, from this, that the anxiety of the Caledonians, to draw the first blood in any military expedition, arose. It was not necessary that it should be that of an enemy; to make sure work, the Highlanders, from time immemorial, never failed to sacrifice the first animal that came in their way; and, anciently, they used to sprinkle the blood on their colours, to prevent mistake as to priority. The detachment of rebels under Lord Lewis Gordon, who defeated a party of the king's forces at Inverury, in 1745, ripped up a sow with young, that presented itself, as, in the morning, they passed by the mill of Keith Hall.

The attack of the Celts was made by a deafening shout from the whole army, which was returned by the women and children, who were generally close in the rear. In night assaults, the greatest silence was preserved until the moment of "onslaught," when an appalling cry was raised, adding much to the alarm of the enemy. The practice of shouting was common to all Celtic nations. The Irish, we find, made "a most terrible noise of crieing." It appears to have been the Prosnacha-cath, or incentive to battle, of the

* Diod.

Caledonians, which afterwards became a regular song or piece of music among these clans, and is allied to the Gaëlic cath ghairm, or gaoir catha, a war cry, and the Slagan of the Low country. The battle-shout called Barritus, says Ammianus, xvi. ii. begins in a slight humming, and rises higher, like beating of waves. This cry seems to have been used by the old Romans.

The first assault of a Celtic army was tremendous. They ran on with such fury that they made whole legions recoil;[y] but it has been also observed that they were always most vigorous in the first onset, their ardour gradually subsiding if unsuccessful, for their best qualifications were strength and audacity.[z] The strong resemblance of the Celts of modern times to their remote ancestors, in this respect, is remarkable. The Highlanders of 1745 retained all the bravery and heroism of the race, but "the chiefs knew no other manœuvre than that of rushing upon the enemy, sword in hand, as soon as they saw them."[a] At Floddon Field,

> "The Highland battalion so forward and valiant,
> They broke from their ranks and rushed on to slay;
> With hacking and slashing and broad swords a dashing,
> Through the front of the English they cut a' full way."

And at Prestonpans the rebels advanced with a swiftness not to be conceived.[b] Dio describes the Caledonian infantry as swift in running and firm in standing. An old writer, describing the Irish, says they were impetuous in their first onset, clashing their swords as they advanced; but, if repulsed, they speedily retreated to the bogs.

The Germans, on one occasion, are described, when engaging the Romans under Constantius, as in the greatest

[y] Appian. [z] Strabo. [a] Mem. of Chev. Johnstone.
[b] Col. Whitefoord's Evidence.

heat. At the most early dawn of day they were seen running up and down, brandishing their swords, grating their teeth, and pouring forth dreadful menaces.[c] This was surely a most useless way of exhausting themselves, but it was quite characteristic, for they are again represented as raging about, with hideous gnashing of teeth, and eyes darting fury, until they were puffing and blowing hard, as they well might, from such insane exertion.[d] The Gauls are allowed to have made a most furious onset; but after the first heat was over, they generally became disheartened. They seem to have, in the first place, aimed at securing victory by an overwhelming assault, and, on its failure, to have resorted to stratagem. Tacitus observed this practice among the Germans, who did not reckon it dishonourable to retreat when the battle was unfavourable. It was esteemed good policy to retire, that they might renew the fight with more advantage.[e] A French writer, in 1547, characterizes the Scots as "plus propre à faire des courses qu' à combattre: bons pour un coup de main ou pour une surprise." Better is a good retreat, than a bad stand, says the Gaëlic proverb.

Neither Gauls nor Britons depended entirely on their strength and valour for success. Their favourite military tactics were those of stratagem and surprise, to which the nature of the country, the state of society, and predatory character of their wars, were adapted. They were most expert in these arts, and possessed such consummate skill in retreat and desultory attack, that the Roman generals were extremely perplexed and annoyed by this system of warfare. It was certainly the wisdom of these nations to avail themselves of all means of harrassing and weakening so formidable an enemy as the veteran and well provided legions of Rome.

[c] Amm. Mar. xvi. 3. [d] Ibid. xvi. 10. [e] De mor. Germ.

Whenever the Britons found a party of the enemy at a distance from the camp, employed in foraging or otherwise, they fell suddenly upon them, and often cut them entirely off. They sometimes cut down the woods to retard pursuit.[f] It was also usual for them to feign a retreat, for the purpose of drawing a party from the main body, when, being enticed into the woods or other fastnesses, they were, by a furious assault, put to the sword. So much did the Roman army suffer from these disasters, that Cæsar was obliged to issue strict orders that none should, on any pretence, leave the camp. These ambuscades were not to be detected: parties were suddenly surprised and annihilated, when the vicinity of an enemy was not suspected; and when a body of troops were sent in pursuit of the assailants, they were no where to be found. Often when victory seemed secured to the Roman arms, the Britons, retreating to marshes and fastnesses, unexpectedly rallied, and, with a desperate fury and an impetuous onset, they would check the foremost pursuers, throw them into confusion, and compel them to retrograde with the utmost celerity. Numbers suffered in this manner after the battle of the Grampians, and on many other occasions. The Gauls, who, in the time of Asdrubal, invaded Italy with an army of 70,000 men, gained their first battle with Æmilius by feigning a retreat.[g] The Morini; a people who inhabited the country about Terouenne, suddenly attacked Cæsar from the woods into which they had decoyed his troops, and, having put most part to the sword, made good their own retreat.[h] It was a well planned attack, or a most lucky turn of fortune, that enabled a body of 800 German horse to surprise and completely rout a detachment of 5000 Roman cavalry.[h]

[f] Amm. Mar. [g] Polybius, ii. [h] Bello Gall.

It was usual with the Gallic nations before an engagement, or during the heat of war, to remove their women, their children, and their aged men out of the way of danger. They were placed in the fastnesses of the country, or in their regular strong holds. The Nervii having taken the field with an army of 60,000 fighting men, before engaging the Romans, placed their old men, women, and children in the bogs;[j] and the Caledonians, before the battle of the Grampians, sent their wives and children to places of safety.[k]

But the Gallic ladies were not always accustomed to shun the dangers of the field. They were in the practice of sharing the fatigues of the chace, and they frequently lent their vigorous assistance in the turmoil of battle, undismayed by the horrors of the fiercest encounter. When the Cimbri engaged the Romans, "the women attacked them with swords and axes, and, making a hideous outcry, fell upon those that fled, as well as their pursuers, the former as traitors, the latter as enemies; and mixing with the soldiers, with their bare arms, pulled away the shields of the Romans and laid hold of their swords, enduring the wounding and slashing of their bodies to the very last with undaunted resolution."[l] The Northern nations had their skiold moer, or shield maids, who went into battle.

On a certain occasion we find the Gaulish women exerting themselves most strenuously to animate the soldiers and excite them to the combat. They ran about with dishevelled hair, and other appearances calculated to rouse the army to the utmost rage.[m] When the Druids were attacked in Anglesea, their sacred asylum, by the Romans, the women did the same. The illustrious Queen of the

[j] Bello Gall. ii. [k] Vit. Agric. [l] Plutarch de Bello Cimbrico. [m] Bello Gal.

Iceni is an instance of the heroism of British females. I am not aware that any of the ladies of Scotish chiefs actually fought, but many of them have on various occasions raised their followers, and led them to the field.

The Germans placed their wives and children in the immediate vicinity of the field of battle, who before an engagement set up loud howlings, which were answered by the chantings of the whole army, both together making an astounding noise. The troops being thus under the notice of their dearest relatives, were stimulated to the most obstinate and sanguinary resistance.

It was highly creditable to the humanity of the Gauls, that during the continuance of a battle they carried their slain and wounded off the field, where the affectionate females were at hand to afford relief and assistance. They administered refreshment, dressed the wounds, and even sucked the bleeding sores of their fainting relatives.[n]

The great respect which the Celts paid to their women was due to many amiable qualities, and the estimation in which military acquirements were held by these people gave an incredible weight to the authority of a heroine. Veleda, in the Batavian war, had the address and energy to combat and to govern the fiercest nations of Germany; and before her, Aurinia and several others had arrived at a similar height of power. Such courageous and dignified females were believed to be endowed with supernatural gifts, and in the name of the Deity they governed the people. The influence of the intrepid Bondiuca over the British tribes, is a striking proof of the veneration paid to these exalted characters, who were believed to be the interpreters of the Divine will.

The German women had the honour of turning on

[n] Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

many occasions the doubtful scale of victory; and "fainting armies have more than once been driven back upon the enemy, by the generous despair of the women, who dreaded death much less than servitude. The sentiments and conduct of these high spirited matrons may at once be considered as a cause, as an effect, and as a proof of the general character of the nation."[o] We find that it was referred to the Gallic women, by soothsaying and casting lots, to determine when it was proper to fight.[p]

It was the peculiar duty of the Bards to animate the Celtic warriors; for which purpose they always attended the armies in considerable numbers, and their persons were held sacred. "They were not only respected in peace, but also in war, and by enemies as well as by friends;" and so great was the influence of this order, that "they would often step between armies prepared to engage, their swords drawn, and spears levelled;" their interposition having the immediate effect of stopping the impending conflict, and allaying the fury of the troops, as if they were "wild beasts tamed by some charm.[q]" Amongst the Scotish Gaël, the Druid, placing himself on an eminence, harangued the troops who stood around him, reminding them of their former glories, exhorting them to exertion on the present occasion, &c., and invoking the divine blessing on all. At the conclusion, the army gave a loud shout, and felt quite prepared for immediate attack.

The respect paid to the Bards, who survived the fall of Druidism, continued, until recent times, among the Celtic inhabitants of Britain. They are noticed as possessing a similar influence over the Irish in the seventeenth century, as they did over the Gauls 2000 years ago.[r] Their military duties were those which afterwards devolved on the

[o] Gibbon. [p] Bello Gal. [q] Diodorus. [r] Barnaby Riche.

heralds, but their religious character did not prevent them from taking a more active part in the conflict. The Bards were certainly armed, as we find from Talliesin, who was himself of the order. Carril, a bard of Fingal's time, appears fighting; and Ullin, another, is mentioned as carrying the spear. But they were of most service in animating the people by the Prosnacha cath, or incentive to battle, which was either hereditary or extempore, and was chaunted both before the commencement and in the heat of battle. These war songs were composed in a quick measure, were rapidly repeated, and had a most spirit-stirring effect, for "the strife was kindled by the songs of the Bards." The Welsh had also a war song,[h] called Arymes prydain; and several are found in the works of the Bards. That of Gaul is a good specimen of the ancient Celtic poetry and style of the battle song. It is taken from the copy which the Rev. Mr. Gallie, of Kincardine, in Ross, communicated to the Highland Society from memory. It may be found in the 4th book of Fingal, as translated by Macpherson; but the present copy seems to be preferable.

A mhacain cheann,	Offspring of the chiefs,
Nan cursan strann,	Of snorting steeds, high bounding!
Ard leumnach, righ n'a'n sleagh!	King of spears!
Lamh threin 'sguch cás	Strong arm in every trial;
Croidhe ard gun scá.	Ambitious heart without dismay.
Ceann airm nan rinn gear girt,	Chief of the host of severe sharp pointed weapons,
Gearr sios gu bas,	Cut down to death,
Gun bharc sheol ban	So that no white sailed bark
Bhi snamh ma dhubh Innishtore.	May float round dark Innistore.
Mar tharnanech bhavil	Like the destroying thunder
Do bhuill, a laoich!	Be thy stroke, O hero!
Do shuil mar chaoir ad cheann,	Thy forward eye like the flaming bolt,
Mar charaic chruin,	As the firm rock,

[h] Cambrian Register.

Do chroidhe gun roinn.	Unwavering be thy heart.
Mar lassan oidhch do lann.	As the flame of night be thy sword.
Cum suar do scia	Uplift thy shield
Is crobhhui nial	Of the hue of blood.
Mar chih bho reul a bhaish,	As a * * * *[1]
A mhacain cheann	Offspring of the chiefs
Nan cursan strann,	Of snorting steeds,
Sgrios naimhde sios gu lar.	Cut down the foes to earth.

Many war songs of later times are extant. The Prosnacha cath Garaich, composed by Lachlan Mac Mhuireach,[2] the Bard of Donald of the Isles, to animate his troops at the battle of Harlaw, fought in 1411, is another curious production. It consists of eighteen stanzas of unequal length, corresponding to the letters of the alphabet, and the epithets in each begin with the respective letter. The following specimen may be thought interesting.

A chlanna cuinn, cuimhnichidh	Race of Conn, be hardihood
Cruas an am na h'iorghuil	Remembered in the day of strife,—
Gu arioneach, gu arroantach,	Repeatedly thrusting confidently,
Gu arach, gu allonta;	Strongly, nobly—
* * * * * *	* * * *
Gu gruamach, gu grinnail,	Sternly, elegantly,
Gu grainail, gu gaisgail,	Terribly, heroically,
Gu gleusda, gu geinnail,	Eagerly, in a wedge-like column.
Gu gasda, gu guineach,	Gallantly, keenly,
Gu galghaircach, gu griongalach,	Causing lamentations, ardently,
Gu griosnamhach, gu gairlamhach,	Inveterately, with sounding blows,
Gu glansgathach, gu geurlannach, &c.	Lopping off limbs, with keen swords.

The poem is more remarkable for the alliteration, than the strength or beauty of the words. This species of recitation was retained until recently. Many poems of this kind were composed in 1715 and 1745; but the spirit of Celtic poetry declined among the Bards, for most of the modern productions, as Macpherson remarked, con-

[1] The words are said to be now unintelligible; they plainly signify, "Like the havoc from the star of death."

[2] Pronounced Vuireach.

sist chiefly in groups of epithets, with little beauty or harmony.

Besides the animation of the war song, the Highlanders were subject to the influence of something like that feeling which leads the Eastern nations to "run a muck." When the party was observed to be in imminent danger, and nothing but a most desperate effort could turn the fate of the day, or save the lives of their friends and foster-brothers, the Gaël were seized with the Miri-cath, or madness of battle, which, as Alexander Macdonald, in his panegyric on the clan, observes, required no Prosnacha. The Celtæ, when warm for battle, expressed their impatience by striking their shields, and otherwise rattling their arms. The German Kings used, from ostentation, to be surrounded by their troops, who made a great noise in this manner with their arms. It was the usual practice among all these nations to express their desire for action; but it would not seem to be peculiar to the Celtæ, for the Romans were used likewise to strike their shields with their spears, to indicate their readiness to fight. To hold up a shield was anciently a signal of battle. Herodotus mentions it, as formerly the practice to give this signal, by a torch-bearer, who was sacred to Mars, and whose person was inviolable. Proceeding to the space between both armies, he dropped his torch in the middle, and instantly retired. We find from Ossian, that "rolling a stone" was "the sign of war," by which must be understood, I apprehend, its being dashed against some sonorous body. A more usual signal to commence an engagement was, by the raising up or unfurling the royal standard. Fingal's standard, from its beauty, was called the sun-beam; and hence, in old composition, to begin a battle is expressed by the "lifting of the sun-beam." Striking the shield was another signal to commence an engagement. The military operations of the Celts, like their

domestic affairs, were influenced by the peculiar system of polity, which governed the whole race, and which so long preserved the remains of this aboriginal people, distinct from the other nations of Europe. This state of society has been styled the Patriarchal: it is more usually denominated Clanship. In Scotland it existed eighty years ago, in as great strength and purity as it, perhaps, had ever done in the most ancient times. In this country the affection with which the people cherished their primitive institutions, distinguished the Highland tribes from all others known in the history of mankind.

CLANSHIP was the junction of feudal and patriarchal authority, passing from chieftain to chieftain; but the simplicity of this government was corrected by regular division of landed property, by many salutary customs, and by a degree of steady refinement and civilization. At the period when the Romans became personally acquainted with this country, the inhabitants were considerably advanced beyond the simple patriarchal state, that only exists in the very infancy of society, before families become united in large communities, and are formed into tribes closely allied and attached to each other. The first is a step above the savage life; it is a still farther advance in civilization to arrive at the art of domesticating cattle, and society will long exist by so doing before its members begin to cultivate even a small portion of the earth. These changes naturally succeed each other, in the progress of all people, from the rudeness of savage life to the social state.

In the infancy of society, mankind are almost solely occupied in hunting and warfare. The first pursuit is necessary for their subsistence, the second is unavoidable among savage tribes, for the members of an early community are obliged to be constantly on their guard, to protect themselves from the aggressions of their neighbours.

The small associations are firmly united and linked together, and the bonds of friendship are strengthened by time, whilst the little intercourse that takes place with other people preserves that attachment which the members cherish towards each other. It is in this primitive condition of mankind, that the peculiar system of Clanship originates, which, from particular circumstances, becomes variously modified.

An early society is obliged to be always in a posture of defence, in order to preserve its very existence, and is continually engaged in military enterprizes, either to gratify the passions of enmity and resentment, to avenge former wrongs, or to indulge in a natural propensity to supply its necessities by the plunder of others. This state of existence points out the advantage of the members putting themselves under the guidance of some individual, who is considered best able to direct their operations. The necessity of a regulation, by which the proceedings of a body shall be superintended and controlled by a single head, seems to be acknowledged in all countries, and naturally arises from the obedience that a family yields to the authority of a father. When men are in this primitive state, there are no distinctions in rank, and the only recommendations arise from personal qualifications. Strength, courage, dexterity in managing the implements of war, a superiority in the performance of athletic amusements, and other similar accomplishments, will point out an object for choice; and when a person is selected for the important station, and performs its duties satisfactorily, the community becomes attached to him. His achievements are boasted of, his exploits are magnified, and, from a natural feeling, the honour of the whole body is intimately connected with him. The more fortunate he is, the more do his followers esteem him, and the more solicitous they are to de-

serve his good opinion, by their fidelity and emulation to distinguish themselves. The chief, accordingly, acquires more weight in the management of their affairs, and he is too fond of the power with which he is invested, to commit those actions which would lead to a deprivation of it.

When the art of war becomes more refined, military skill and experience are preferred to mere strength and agility, in the election of chief, without wholly disregarding those latter qualifications; hence the respect that is paid to old age, from the wisdom which is acquired in a long life. The individual who, in the pastoral state, has become rich in numerous herds, becomes proportionally powerful. He is able to support those who have nothing themselves, and who therefore become his dependents, and cheerfully contribute to that affluence which is readily bestowed on his friends. He is treated with respect and submission by his retainers and less fortunate relations, and enjoys a pre-eminence from the abilities, which have been exerted in the accumulation and management of his flocks.

Personal qualifications cannot always be continued in a family, but wealth can be transmitted through generations; and the influence of ancestors, instead of expiring with them, becomes, in some measure, added to that of the successors. This possession of property gives rise to hereditary chieftainship, and therefore the leader or governor of a tribe is often very young.

When agriculture begins to be practised, there is a new source of influence, extremely favourable towards strengthening the authority of a chief or head of a village. The ground is at first cultivated in common, and during this period the chief has a power of superintending the labour, and apportioning the produce of the fields. When the land is afterwards divided into certain properties, he is by common consent allowed an extent of territory for himself,

equal to the rank he is obliged to support, and is empowered to assign to others suitable allotments: he thus becomes sole proprietor of the soil, and acquires a complete authority over the members of his little community. His military duties are also increased, as he is more interested in the defence of the tribe, which now requires additional exertion. The members obey him with less hesitation; they revere his command, and become so strongly attached to his person, that they are ready to support him on all occasions. To fail in this duty, would draw on them his resentment; their faithful service procures his kindness and protection. The chief naturally becomes their legislator. At first he reconciles their differences by persuasion, to which a respect for his experience and judgement will induce the parties to attend; but he soon acquires power to enforce his decisions.

The authority of a chief is very limited in a nation which has not advanced far in the pastoral state, but it is almost unlimited when it has become rich in flocks and agriculture, and the influence of subordinate heads of families is always proportioned to the extent of their possessions, and indicated by the number of their retainers.

The Gallic chief had the direction of all the warlike affairs, and the great mark of nobility consisted in the number of vassals by which he was attended, who were always proportionate to his estate and quality.[k]

After the formation of a settled community, the military and other services of the vassals, rendered for the enjoyment of the portion of land originally assigned for their subsistence, constitutes the bond of society.

The improvement in agriculture, and consequent increase of population, occasions the formation of separate villages,

[k] Bello Gall. vi. 7.

composed of colonies branching from the original tribe. These are situated at considerable distances from each other, and in time become distinct, and in some degree independent, at least in their internal government; but they resemble each other in manners and institutions, and continue to acknowledge their common descent. The enlargement of their possessions subjects them to more frequent attack and molestation from their neighbours, and their mutual interest induces them to associate for their better security. This will be sometimes the case with contiguous tribes of different origin, and is likely to occur in the coalition of a weak clan with one more powerful. Such associations are not unknown to the shepherd state, but are more frequently formed in agricultural communities. In this manner society becomes enlarged and cemented by intermarriages and mutual hospitalities. From this cause, also, will lesser tribes merge in those larger associations, under whose protection they have placed themselves. They will be regarded as an inferior division only, their particular name will cease to be mentioned separately, and in time will be only preserved among themselves.

In exchange for this sacrifice they will share in the glories acquired by the people to whom they have ceded their independence. They will still retain their own chieftain, who will continue to possess the power of governing his immediate dependants, and only submit at first to his superior in general affairs. In military transactions he will have the immediate command of his own troops, and be only subject to the chief, who is supreme leader.

This arrangement, or mode of conducting military operations, is a striking part of the Celtic system of polity, which is thus seen to derive its origin from the most early associations, that are formed by mankind.

In this view of the system I am obliged to differ in opinion from Sir David Stewart, who thinks, that on the transfer of the government from the Highlands, and consequent impoverishment of the country, the institution of Clans arose.[l] Scotland is naturally well adapted for the preservation of the inhabitants in a state of distinct and independent clanship. Divided into valleys, surrounded by lofty, and in many cases impassible mountains, the various tribes were separated by permanent and well known boundaries.

Hills are better divisions than rivers, which are generally fordable, and in a mountainous country, the bed of a stream is sometimes filled by the most impetuous torrent, and at other times becomes only the channel of a rippling brook; but the heights around a valley, and the extended ridges embracing a larger tract, divided Celtic Scotland into Countries, before it was laid out in parishes or in shires. From the introduction of Christianity arose the first; the last were introduced with other Saxon innovations, in the middle of the eleventh century. These alterations were deemed sufficient. Tythings, hundreds, and other institutions, were never established in Scotland.[m] To the inhabitants of a valley, all within the visible horizon was a country. The great contention was always for "the sky of the hill,"[n] and long as it is since this Celtic division has been politically unknown, the districts inhabited by certain clans are still called their Countries.

This separation of territory was, however, too indefinite. Without some established marks, the exact extent of different properties could not be well determined; and in hunt-

[l] Sketches of the Highlanders.

[m] Caled. It was not until 1584 that Ulster was laid out in shires.

[n] Skene Keith.

[o] As the Lord Rae's Country, the Fraser's Country.

ing and on other occasions, infringements would occur, which nothing but a war could requite.

Stones, like the Roman Termini, marked the boundaries of the territories of the Germans and Burgundians, in the time of Julian,[p] and it may be safely presumed that many of the rude obelisks to be found all over Scotland were raised for this purpose. In the Isles and other parts of Scotland, burnt ashes, or chaff, were laid under stones for the better preservation of these marks; and a practice, which is well known at the perambulation of English parishes, was in use as a farther security, that the *march* should not be afterwards mistaken: boys were taken to the spot and received so sound a flogging, that it was by no means likely they should, while they lived, forget the place of execution.[q]

Trenches, or earthen mounds, were also formed as boundaries, and were sometimes carried to a considerable length. They are common in England, particularly in Wiltshire, where the Wansdike, running through Somersetshire to the Severn, the most wonderful remain of British earthwork, is still distinctly seen. In Scotland, also, particularly in the Southern counties, are still to be traced the vestiges of many extensive boundary lines, for which the unsettled state of these provinces in early ages may account. Here also were constructed those walls which the Romans, evidently in imitation of the Celtic mode of castrametation, intended as the boundaries of their overgrown empire.

But, leaving the theory, let us more particularly trace the progress of Clanship, and pursuing its history, observe its effects among those nations where it was most tenaciously adhered to. The whole institutions of the Celtæ were affected by this singular system. All the Gauls were regulated by this mode of government, and the Romans

[p] Ammian Mar. [q] Martin.

found it in full force among the Britons, whose descendants so long retained their ancient policy.

This curious social compact comprised the patriarchal with the feudal authority. Its grand characteristic was obedience to the chief by the whole clan, with the respect that the members of a family pay to a father, like whom the chief exerted his authority over all his followers. The claims of consanguinity were spread over the whole community, and all were distinguished by a common name.

The chief, as head of the tribe, being in a certain sense, proprietor of the whole territory, he managed it for the public good, and endeavoured to divide the lands so as to accommodate all his followers. In the later periods of their history the chiefs did hold great portions, if not, in some cases, all the land as their own, which enabled them to increase their power, and provide for their immediate relations by grants, sometimes in wadset, sometimes in perpetuity, and sometimes for a limited period.

Amongst the ancient Celtæ, however, the prince or king had nothing actually his own; but everything belonging to his followers were freely at his service, "of their own accord they gave their prince so many cattle, or a certain portion of grain." It seems probable that the Celtic chief held the public lands in trust for his people, and was, on his succession, invested with those possessions which he afterwards apportioned among his retainers. Those only, we are told by Cæsar, had land, "magistrates and princes, and they give to their followers as much as they think proper, removing them at the year's end." The king of the Hebudæ, we find, was not allowed to possess anything of his own, lest avarice should divert him from truth and justice.[r] In Ireland, the tenants gave *common spendings* for rent,

[r] Solinus, c. 22.

from which came the expression "spend me and defend me."

Perhaps when Malcolm, in 909, resigned all his lands to his nobles, reserving nothing to himself but the royal dignity and moot hill of Scone, a circumstance that has excited much astonishment, he did no more than acknowledge, according to the Celtic system, that it was from his people he received his possessions.

The following are the words of Dr. Johnson, when speaking of Clanship among the Scots Highlanders. "The Laird is the original owner of the land, whose natural power must be very great where no man lives but by agriculture, and where the produce of the land is not conveyed through the labyrinths of traffic, but passes directly from the hand that gathers to the mouth that eats it. The Laird has all those in his power that live on his farms. This inherent power was yet strengthened by the kindness of consanguinity and the reverence of patriarchal authority. The Laird was the father of the clan, and his tenants commonly bore his name; and to these principles of original command was added, for many ages, an exclusive right of legal jurisdiction. This multifarious and extensive obligation operated with a force scarcely credible: every duty, moral or political, was absorbed in affection and adherence to the chief. Not many years have passed since the clans knew no law but the Laird's will; he told them to whom they should be friends or enemies; what kings they should obey, and what religion they should profess."

Next to the love of the chief was that of the particular branch whence they sprang; and in a third degree to those of the whole clan. The Highlanders also owed good will to such clans as were their friends, and they adhered to one another in opposition to the Lowlanders.

The simple principle of Clanship may be reduced to the

patriarchal authority of a father over his family, and the affectionate obedience which a clansman paid to his chief as the father of the tribe. Nothing could cancel the paramount duty of allegiance. The members of one clan might reside on the lands of another proprietor, but their service was due to their lawful chief only, whom they were bound to follow. If any individual had the temerity to disobey the commands of his superior, it may be presumed his situation became not very enviable. If he persisted in his opposition, he was expelled the clan, for no individual could remain in the territory after setting himself above his chief; but few instances of such conduct ever occurred.

The law of Kincogish, by which a chief was answerable for every member of his clan, was a truly Celtic institution. It existed in South Britain in the time of Alfred, and was found so useful, that it was embodied in the statutes of both Ireland and Scotland.

The whole clan, however numerous, were supposed to be related to each other; and although it is not easy to conceive so large a family, yet, as the members continued to intermarry, they were actually in a certain degree related, not excepting the chief himself, whose blood each individual believed, with feelings of pride, circled in his own heart. The superior orders in the tribe, the chieftains and Duine-uasals, more familiarly known in latter times as the Tacksmen or Goodmen, were acknowledged relations of the Laird, and held portions of land suitable to their consequence. These again had a circle of relations, who considered them as their immediate leaders, and who, in battle, were placed under their immediate command. Over them, in peace, these chieftains exercised a certain authority, but were themselves dependent on the chief, to whose service all the members of the clan were submissively devoted.

As the Duine-uasals received their lands from the

bounty of the chief, for the purpose of supporting their station in the tribe, so these lands were occasionally resumed or reduced to provide for those who were more immediately related to the Laird; hence many of this class necessarily sank into that of commoners. This transition strengthened the feeling which was possessed by the very lowest of the community, that they were related to the chief, from whom they never forgot they originally sprang. "There is no part of France," says Marchargy, "in which the spirit of family connection is stronger than in Brittany: relationship is carried to the twelfth degree, and passes from generation to generation."[s] About this simple plan of government much has been written. It is evident that it must have produced features very peculiar and very different from those to be found among any other people.

The practice of fosterage, by which children were mutually exchanged and brought up, was a curious feature in the system, and a most powerful cement to clanship.

The son of the chief was given to be reared by some inferior member of society, with whom he lived during the years of pupillarity. The effect of this custom appears to have been astonishing. It often prevented feuds, and it seems calculated sometimes to produce them. The attachment of foster-brothers was strong and indissoluble. The Highlanders say, that "affectionate to a man is a friend, but a foster-brother is as the life blood of his heart." No love in the world, says Camden, is comparable by many degrees to it.[t] That of foster parents was equally strong, and many traditional anecdotes are related of their mutual regard. Spenser relates that he saw an old woman who had been foster-mother to Murrough O'Brien, at his execution

[s] Hist. of Brittany, Lit. Gaz. 1825, No. 450.

[t] Coält is a foster-brother; Dalta, a foster-son; Oid, a foster-father.

suck the blood from his head, and bathe her face and breast with it, saying it was too precious to fall to the earth.

It appears that fifteen were usually fostered by a chief,[u] but Fingal had sixteen foster-brothers.[v]

It was accounted a high honour to obtain the fosterage of a superior. "Five hundred kyne and better," were sometimes given by the Irish, to procure the nursing of a great man's child.[w] The trust was so far from being deemed a service, that it was reckoned a very high honour, and hot contentions arose among the vassals for the preference. The foster family were particularly respected by the chief, and raised to much consideration among their neighbours.

The foster-brothers were generally promoted to some office near the person of the chief. The family, at all events, received some adequate reward, and the terms were regularly settled.[x] These were not the same in all places. "In Mull, the father sends with his child a certain number of cows, to which the same number is added by the fosterer; the father appropriating a proportionate extent of country, without rent, for their pasturage. If every cow bring a calf, half belongs to the fosterer and half to the child; but if there be only one calf between two cows, it is the child's; and when the child returns to the parents, it is accompanied by all the cows given both by the father and by the fosterer, with half of the increase of the stock by propagation. These beasts are considered as a portion, and called macaladh cattle, of which the father has the produce, but is supposed not to have the full property, but to owe the same number to the child, as a portion to the daughter, or a stock for the son."[y]

[u] High. Soc. Rep. on Ossia. [v] Ibid. [w] Campion.

[x] A deed of fosterage, between Sir Norman Mac Leod and John Mac Kenzie, dated 1645, and written in Gaëlic, still exists.

[y] Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides.

Among a people so knit together by consanguinity, it naturally followed that an injury done to an individual was resented by the whole clan. Tacitus observes of the Germans, that they adopted all the enmities as well as friendships of their particular houses. "Men in a small district necessarily mingle blood by intermarriage, and combine at last into one family. Then begins that union of affections and co-operation of endeavours that constitute a clan."[z] The Celtic princes were attached to their followers by relationship as well as policy. They were mutually bound by the closest ties, and their ambition was to emulate each other in acts of heroism. A numerous retinue was the greatest pride of the Celtic warriors: those of Italy strove which should purchase most friends, for they highly esteemed a man that was honoured by many.[a] The Scyths also instilled to their children to make numerous friends.[b] It was the delight of both Gauls and Germans to be surrounded by numerous bodies of chosen men, whose sense of honour was so strong, that they could not abandon their master, even to save their own lives, without incurring universal contempt.[c]

Those sworn bodies of friends which the Gauls called Soldurii,[d] lived on a community of goods, shared in all the misfortunes as well as successes of their commanders; and Cæsar declares that there was no instance on record of any who ever refused to sacrifice his life with those who engaged him.[e] Amongst the Germans, he informs us, that if those who had agreed to follow the fortunes of a leader, should break the engagement, they were branded with infamy, which could not by any means be ever afterwards removed.

[z] Johnson. [a] Polybius.
[b] Les diff. mœurs des an. peuples, 1670. [c] Bello Gall. vii. 38.
[d] Sold, germ. stipendium,—the evident origin of soldier.
[e] Bello, Gall. iii. 23.

The enthusiastic Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, who fell into the hands of the king's troops after the defeat of the rebels at Culloden, is a noble example of devoted attachment. Bearing a strong resemblance to Prince Charles, and finding himself suddenly surprised, yet disdaining flight or submission, lest, in the homely phrase of Dugald Græme,

> "That, like a thief, he should be hang'd,
> He chose to die with sword in hand;"[f]

and attacking the party, he received his mortal wound, exclaiming, as he fell, "You have slain your prince!" To this generous sacrifice the escape of Charles is to be chiefly attributed; for the head of Mackenzie was cut off, and as it was believed to be that of the Chevalier, for which a reward of £30,000 was offered, the parties who were scouring the country became less vigilant.

At Glenshiels, in 1719, Munro of Culcairn was wounded in the thigh, and the rebels continued to fire on him when down. Finding their determination to kill him, he desired his servant to get out of the way, and return home, to inform his father that he had not misbehaved. The faithful Highlander burst into tears, and, refusing to leave his master, threw himself down, and covering the body of his chief with his own, received several wounds, and, in all probability, both lives would have been lost, if one of the clan, who commanded a party, had not seen their perilous situation. He swore on his dirk he would dislodge the enemy, and by a desperate charge in the spirit of Miri-cath, he did so.[g]

The Luchdtachk of the Highlanders was a body of young men, selected from the best families in the clan, who were skilfully trained to the use of the sword and targe,

[f] Metrical History of the Rebellion. This anecdote is related in the Mem. of the Chev. Johnstone.

[g] Birt, ii. 14. who had it of Culcairn.

archery, wrestling, swimming, leaping, and all military and athletic exercises; and their duty was to attend the chief wherever he went. The regular establishment consisted of these persons, who always accompanied him when he went abroad:

The Gille-coise, or Hanchman, who closely attended the person of his chief, and stood behind him at table.

The Bladair, or spokesman.

The Bard.

The Piobaire, or piper.

The Gille-piobaire, the piper's servant, who carried his instrument.

The Gille-more, who carried the chief's broadsword.

The Gille-casfluich, who carried him, when on foot, over the rivers.

The Gille-comhstraithainn, who led his horse in rough and dangerous paths.

The Gille-trusarneis, or baggage man.

The Gille-ruithe, or running footman, was also an occasional attendant.

Besides these, he was generally accompanied by several gentlemen who were near relations; and a number of the commoners followed him and partook of the cheer which was always provided by the person to whom a visit was paid. These large followings, or *Tails*, occasioned an act of council to be passed, prohibiting the Northern Lairds from appearing at Edinburgh with so formidable and inconvenient a retinue. The tails of the Highland chiefs were, however, sufficiently imposing on occasion of his Majesty's late visit to Dunedin.[b]

In the laws of Hwyel dha, we find there were fourteen men in the palace. The heir apparent, the priest,

[b] The Gaëlic name of Edinburgh.

the bard of presidency, the domestic bard, the physician, the judge, the master of the household, the master of the hawks, the master of the horse, the chief huntsman, the smith of the court, the torchbearer, the crier, and the foot holder. All these sat at table according to certain rules of precedence that will be detailed in another part of the work.

The order observed in the armies of the Highlanders, before the abolition of their heritable independence, was this: every regiment or clan was commanded by the chief, if of sufficient age, who was consequently the colonel. The eldest cadet was lieut.-colonel, and the next was major. Some clans, in 1745, had the youngest cadet, lieut.-colonel; but this was unusual, and held to be an innovation on the established principle. Each company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns, and the front ranks were composed of gentlemen who were all provided with targets, and were otherwise better armed than the rear. In the day of battle, each company furnished two of their best men as a guard to the chief, and in their choice, consanguinity was always considered. The chief was posted in the centre of the column, beside the colours, and he stood between two brothers, cousins-german, or other relations. The common men were also disposed with regard to their relatives, the father, the son, and the brother standing beside each other. The effect which this "order of nature"[i] must have had in stimulating the combatants to deeds of heroism, can be easily perceived. It did not escape the notice of the intelligent Tacitus. Alluding to the practice among the Celtic tribes of the Continent, and the inhabitants of the British Isles, who always fought in parties, or by clans, under the command of

[i] Home's Hist. of the Rebellion, 1745, &c.

their immediate chiefs, he says, that this disunion, preventing any general confederacy, was highly favourable to the Romans, who were thereby enabled to subdue "a warlike people, independent, fierce, and obstinate."[j] We, however, find that it did not always prevent a general coalition, as was so strikingly evinced on the invasion of Gaul, and on the advance of Agricola into the regions of Caledonia. Cæsar, who was surely a competent judge in this matter, thought his troops fought to much disadvantage against these parties, who stood with firmness, and were constantly relieved by fresh men. Tacitus himself, in his Annals, expresses his decided approbation of this mode of drawing up an army; and also says, "what proves the chief incentive to their valour, is, that the battalia are not formed by a fortuitous collection of men, but by the conjunction of whole families and tribes of relations."[k] Cæsar observes, that this Clannish system was introduced among the Gauls in ancient times, so that the most obscure person should not be oppressed by the rich; for each leader was obliged to protect his followers, else he would soon be stripped of his authority.[l] It is apparent, from the constitution of Celtic society, that a chief could never become despotic. The government was radically democratic.

It has been remarked that the divisions of tribes and nations were rather an obstacle than assistance in the conquest of Gaul, for the reverses of one tribe had no effect on the state of another.[m] When Bondiuca had been defeated with the loss of 80,000 of her troops, the Britons were found still in arms.[n] Although the Nervii lost 60,000 in one battle, and on another occasion 53,000 other Gauls

[j] Vita Agric. xii. [k] De mor. Germ. [l] Bello Gall. vi. c. 7.
[m] Edmond's Remarks on Cæsar's Commentaries.
[n] Tac. Annals, xiv.

were sold for slaves, these disasters had not any visible effect on the general proceedings.

Their mode of fighting was extremely well adapted to the particular state of those people. They possessed a large extent of territory, and the loss of a general battle would have been peculiarly unfortunate; the population being so widely spread, an army, when dispersed, could not have been easily brought again into the field, except by the subdivision of authority; and before the forces could have been collected, the enemy would have completely overran the country. The influence of the chiefs over their respective dependants enabled them to execute plans with a celerity unknown under other systems; and the various operations being distributed among so many, the whole army was organized with great facility. The immense hosts that were embodied could not have been raised among a semi-barbarous and roving people but through the strong influence of the chiefs, who were perfectly free and independent in the regulation of their own tribes.

It is evident that each clan being so constituted, and there being no more general connexion than a common language and similar customs, there could never arise any power able to raise itself to a great superiority over the others. One tribe might predominate for a time; but the subjected people could not forget their allegiance to their natural chief, or feel a cordial attachment to their new lord. This state of things would be, besides, too hostile to the spirit of clanship to exist long; and we therefore find, that whatever successes one nation might obtain over others, the balance of power was, on the whole, preserved among the Gauls, and no one or more of the tribes were ever able to erect any thing like a powerful kingdom. They are governed, says Diodorus, by kings and princes, who, for the most part, are at peace with each other. In Britain, Dio

informs us, the people, for the most part, had the government. Their constitutions were certainly democratic.

It was not, indeed, unlikely that small tribes should pay deference to those who were more powerful. The advantage of protection, and the honour of a noble alliance were powerful inducements to allow a slight interference in their internal affairs, which was not entirely incompatible with Celtic policy; but the individual rights of a chief could not be relinquished, without the consent of the whole tribe. However, from motives of prudence, or from necessity, a chieftain might be induced to humble himself to his more powerful neighbour, they were both equal in dignity.

Clanship was admirably adapted to preserve the national liberty of the Celts, and it was no dishonour to their arms that they ultimately were subdued by Roman valour. The various and unconnected tribes of Gaul could not have been well governed by a single monarch, and it may be doubted whether the Highlanders of Scotland could have retained their independence so long, had they been under regal government.

The dignity of chief was properly hereditary, but was not always so, especially on the Continent. Among the Scots the form of government remained more purely patriarchal, and the regular succession was seldom interrupted: hence it has been inferred, that Clanship could not have been derived from the continental Celts, among whom power seems to have been elective. It must be recollected that these were in a different situation from the British tribes, whose manners had suffered less change, and who, when visited by the Romans, apparently retained those maxims which their forefathers had brought into the island. But however altered, the succession of the princes of Gaul was not elective in the general sense of the word.

It has been shewn that a general assembly of a nation made choice from the nobility or royal family of a general who should lead them to war, a regulation that was extremely judicious, for the chief might have been a minor, or less able to conduct the army than many of his experienced nobles, and his death in battle might have produced very unpleasant consequences. Tacitus says, that the generals were chosen for bravery, but the kings from splendour of descent, so that even striplings had sometimes the supreme command. A new chief required the sanction of his people before he assumed his title, and acknowledged that his power was derived from their suffrages. In this sense it was a free election; but, like a conge d'elire, the choice of the people usually coincided with the wish of the chief, and the person who had the best right to the situation was elected. He was, in fact, the heir, by right of primogeniture; for, among all the Celtic nations, the chieftainship was preserved in a particular family or royal race, as among the Picts;[o] and the Welsh, who had five royal and fifteen special tribes, instituted by Gryfyd ap Cynan.[p] This is the very characteristic of a patriarchal government, and it must have been only in consequence of an insurrection, or some calamity, that the succession could have been altered.

It was most dangerous to attempt to obtain the sovereignty of a tribe or nation against the public consent. Celtillus, who had presided over Celtic Gaul, lost his life for aiming at this illegal power.[q] The Helvetii had a law by which one who had been found guilty of such an attempt was condemned to be burned alive. By the custom of the country he was allowed to defend himself, but, during the trial, he remained bound in chains. Orgetorix,

[o] Adomnan. [p] British Antiquities, p. 44. [q] Bello Gall. vii. 7.

having committed this crime, assembled all his friends and followers, to the number of 10,000, and all his dependants on the day of trial, for his rescue, if found guilty.[r]

Kings constituted, by the regular rules of succession, although enjoying a complete influence over the tribe, could not with impunity act arbitrarily, or degenerate into tyrants, for the people, who confirmed their authority, could also check their severity, and even strip them of their power. They were controlled by the opinions of both chieftains and Druids, and were also bound by acknowledged laws; but they governed more by example than authority, for to none but the priests was the power of correction submitted.[s] It was only when engaged in war that the Germans invested their generals with power of life and death, the subordinate chiefs appearing, for the time, to have resigned their individual power of deciding controversies.[t] Tacitus says, the influence of these princes arose from their ability to persuade, not their power to command; and observes it as an unusual instance that the Suiones, in his time, were governed by an absolute chief. The ancient kings of the Hebudæ islands were bound to equity by known laws,[u] of which more shall be said presently. The Highland chiefs, although they retained full power over their respective clans after the establishment of the Scots' monarchy, usually introduced in the bonds of Man-rent, or deeds whereby they agreed to afford each other mutual support, a covenant excepting their allegiance to the sovereign.

The connexion of the Gaëlic chief and his people was not the rule of the strong over the weak; it was maintained by reciprocal advantages and kindnesses. All the members of

[r] Bello Gall. i. 3. [s] Tac. de mor. Germ. [t] Bello Gall.
[u] Solinus, c. 22.

a clan were connected with each other, and their common safety depended on their united fidelity and co-operation. Tyranny and injustice on the part of a chief could not fail to weaken his influence, and, finally, estrange his kindred and his friends. The chief and his followers were mutually devoted to each other; and those who, from accident, old age, or otherwise, became unable to support themselves, were provided for by their generous leader, as the Mac Niels of Barra, whose chief always made up the loss which his tenants sustained through misfortune.[v] The whole members again cheerfully contributed to the support of their chief, who moderated his expenses to suit the circumstances of his people. In Ireland, there indeed appears to have been exactions that were by no means light. Coyny and livery, or meat for men and horses, are said to have been first introduced by Fitzmorris, Earl of Desmond, who had not 1000 marks yearly rent independent of his "Spendings," which Queen Elizabeth took, as they were the best part of his income.[w] These last payments were, perhaps, what is otherwise called black rents; other taxes were bonnaght, fowey, kenelagh, cuthings' cuddery, cosheering, shragh, sorehin, carraghes, bonnagh-beg, bonnagh-burr, barnes, &c. &c. A singular custom prevailed in Wales; the three indispensibles of a gentleman—his harp, his tunic, and his kettle—were, it appears by the Triads, paid by a general contribution. So much was the honour of the whole clan concentrated in the chief, that the greatest provocation was to reproach one with his vices or personal defects; such an insult was sufficient to lead to mortal combat.[x]

The system of Clanship has been represented as intole-

[v] Martin.

[w] Present State of Ireland, 1673. Desid. cur. Hib.

[x] Birt's Letters, ii. 9.

rable oppression on the part of the chiefs, and abject slavery among the commons. It would, indeed, appear from Adomnan, ii. c. 34., that the Picts had Scotish bondmen; but we most probably misunderstand the passage. That the lower orders in a clan were so degraded is false, for they enjoyed a degree of consideration unknown to other systems of government; and it is impossible to believe, that if they were so cruelly treated, they should have so enthusiastically devoted themselves to their masters. To the Highlanders, the name of slavery is unknown. Among their continental ancestors, those who were called slaves had each a house and certain ground, for which he paid a quantity of grain, cattle, or cloth, and thus far his subserviency extended. For any to beat, put in chains, or doom a slave to severe labour, was scarce known; the strongest mark of inferiority appeared when the chief happened, in his passion, to kill one:—he was not held liable to punishment. In other respects, the slave and the freed man were nearly on an equality.

The singular custom of electing an ancient Celtic chief, or rather admitting the legitimate heir, was known among the British tribes as the Dlighe Tanaiste, which, although the source of lamentable discords and bloodshed in Ireland, convulsed by ambitious factions, continued long to be followed in Scotland with less mischief. The law of Tanaistry not only regulated the government of the clans, but determined the succession of the kings of Scotland during the Celtic dynasty, or until 1056, and pervaded the constitution to a much later period. It is not, says Dr. Mac Pherson, above 200 years since this custom prevailed in the Highlands, and some instances have occurred later.[y]

[y] Diss. xiii. It even prevailed among the Saxons. He says, before the Conquest of Ireland, Tanaist became obsolete!

During the life of a chief, he generally appointed his successor from the members of his own family, for the descent by Tanaistry was to the oldest and most worthy of blood and name;[z] but, like the Gauls, he was obliged to obtain the consent of the clan,[a] who, previous to confirmation, required satisfactory proof of the military abilities of their future commander.[a] The person so chosen was denominated the Tanaist, or Tanistear, a word which signifies second person.

The appointment of a Tanaist was evidently intended to prevent the danger of an interregnum or minority, for an experienced person, in the maturity of life, was always preferred to one more youthful: and a male, although illegitimate, was elected, to the exclusion of females; agreeably to which practice, the Galwegians, in the time of Alexander II., unanimously rose in support of a bastard son against three legitimate daughters. An uncle was also preferred to a nephew, whose grandfather survived the father.

It was probably from a feeling of the relationship of all the members, and a sense of equality, that this singular mode of election was admitted. The custom did not, perhaps, work very well with turbulent people, among whom nothing can prevent occasional insurrection. At the same time, the practice, it must be confessed, appears but too well calculated to produce disorder. An elective government has ever been a source of contention; and, however well the Gauls regulated it, evils were sometimes the consequence. In Scotland, where Clanship became so much refined, it lost many of its inconveniences. Any tendency to misrule was checked by the people, whose influence a chief dare not contemn; for, according to a Celtic saying, "stronger than the Laird were the vassals."

[z] Davis's Reports on Tanaistry. [a] Caledonia i. 306.

Strabo says, that the Gauls were anciently accustomed to elect a prince and a captain-general every year.[b] There were some instances of two kings reigning jointly; but it was very unusual. Among the Æduans, it was not lawful for two of the same family to enjoy this dignity, or even to sit together in the public assemblies.[c]

The duty of the Tanaist, when appointed during the life of the chief, was to lead the army. He was the captain of the clan, and hence he appears to me to have been denominated the Toshich, which I do not find is intended for a different person. Tos and Toshich, in Gaëlic, signify the beginning or first part of any thing; so Toshich came to denote the general, or leader of the van: and the Mac Intoshes derive themselves from Macduff, who obtained this right from Malcolm Ceanmore. Dr. Mac Pherson says, the Tanaist and Toshich are different, which may be true in this manner: the one was the nomination of the chief and his blood relation, the other the choice of the people or the appointment of the king.

A charter of David II. to John Mac Kennedy, the captain of Clan Muntercasduff, authorises James Kennedy, who had married Mary Stewart, the king's daughter, and the heirs male, to exercise "the capitanship, head and commandment of his kin;"[d] and another charter of the same reign is "anent the clan of Clenconan, and who should be captain thereof."[e] A charter of Nigel, Earl of Carrick, to Roland de Carrick and his heirs, of the chieftainship of his clan in all affairs of Kinkynell, or the right of leading the clan under the chief, was confirmed in 1241, and reconfirmed by Robert the Second.[f] The Saxon word

[b] Lib. iv. [c] Bello Gall. vii. 29.
[d] Robertson's Index of Charters, p. 149. No. 57. [e] Ibid. p. 57. No. 27.
[f] Robertson's Index, p. 134. Crawford's Officers of State, 21.

Thane, the Taini of Domesday-book, is assuredly derived from the Celtic Tanaist.

Women were excluded in general by the Tanaist law, but cases occur where they held the sovereignty of the clan by hereditary right, and sometimes acquired great influence. It is true that Veleda, who became so renowned, bore the character of a prophetess; but the heroic Bondiuca and Cartismandua, who became so powerful in Britain, were legitimate princesses. The Sitones, in the days of Tacitus, were governed by a female.

The title Rhi, a ruler, or king, was not the highest in Celtic precedency. Tierna, spelt Tighearna, literally signifies a lord or judge, and is applied to all great men. Even the Divine Being does not receive any other appellation, a proof that the people had no idea of any higher power, than what was possessed by their chiefs. The Rex of the Romans is apparently derived from the Celtic Rhi, as the Greek Tyrannos, a name originally applied to princes, both good and bad, and is from Tierna. This word which, in Welsh, is Teyrn, has been derived from ti, one, eren, land, as implying a landed gentleman.[g] From this title comes Ochiern or Oigthierna, latinized Ogetharius in Scots law, a term applied to the heir apparent of a lordship, and composed of Oig, young, Tierna, Lord. Mactiern is an ancient dignity among the Bretons.

Iar Fhlath, from Iar, after, and Fhlath, a prince or commander, is pronounced Iarla, signifies literally, a secondary chief, and is the origin of the Saxon Earl, to which the Welsh Iarll and the Cornish Arluth are analogous. Other dignities were the Maormor, i. e. Maor, steward, officer or one who guarded, and more, great,[h] a person who had the

[g] Dr. Mac Pherson.

[h] Mawr, is great in Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric.

government of provinces, and whose title was equivalent to the earls of after ages. Moar, in Manx, is a collector of manorial rents.

Toscheoderach, in Gaëlic, Toischuachdarach, i. e. a chief officer, is a term that frequently occurs. Niel Mac Niel sold to James Mac Niel the lands of Gigha, with the Toschodairach of Kintyre;[i] and Robert the Third confirms a charter, in which John Lachlanson, of Durydarach, grants to Duncan Dalrumpil, the office of Toscheadaroch, in Nithsdale.

In Ireland, the Tanaist had certain "cuttings and spendings on all the inhabitants." His lands descended to the eldest and most worthy of his blood and name, and his daughters received a certain number of cattle for their dowry. In the Isles, the Tierna's brother claimed Trian-tiernis, or a third part of the estate during his life, by right of immemorial custom.[j] Amongst the Germans, the children were their father's lawful heirs; and in default of issue, the nearest of kin succeeded. Amongst the Tencteri, one of their tribes, who were celebrated equestrians, the horses were heritable, yet did not descend to the eldest son, but to the one who had most signalized himself by deeds of valour.[k]

The custom of Gavel-kind, a mode of succession still existing in different parts of Britain, and accounted the common law of Kent, where the people have been always remarkable for their tenacity of ancient practices, was well known in Brehon law. By the Irish practice, legitimate and illegitimate, male and female, received an equal portion on the death of a parent: and if one of the family died, the chief or judge made a new partition of the

[i] Caled. i. 451. [j] Dr. Mac Pherson says he was also called Armin.
[k] Tac. de mor. Germ.

whole; for the share of the deceased did not go to his children.[l] By the Custumal of Kent, the fire hearth, and forty feet around it, remained with the youngest son. A husband, surviving his wife, was entitled to a moiety of her gavel-kind lands, so long as he remained unmarried; and a widow had a similar right, if she remained single, and "took diligent heed that she was not found with child." A proof of infidelity we find, was by the child being heard to cry after its birth, and by the attestation of the people, assembled by hue and cry.[m] Like the practice in Scots' law, property at death was by this usage divided into the dead's part, the wife's part, and the bairn's part of gear.

The inhabitants of Kent preserved the freedom of their Celtic ancestors. In the thirtieth of Edward the First, it was declared, that in this county there were no villains, and that the son of one born there became free.[n] Among other valuable privileges, the men of Kent claimed a right to a position in the vanguard of the army; hence, Drayton says,

> "Of all the English shires, be thou surnamed the free,
> And foremost ever plac'd, when they shall reckon'd be."[o]

A conviction for felony, or any other serious crime, did not occasion a forfeiture of the lands, the heirs never being affected by the deeds of their parents, according to the adage. "The fader to the bond, the son to the lond." In Scotland, fourteen is the age at which pupillarity terminates. An heir of Gavel-kind became of age at fifteen. This mode of succession was abolished in Wales 35th Hen. VIII. and by the 3rd of James I., it was declared illegal in Ireland, but papists were afterwards excepted! Con-

[l] Present state of Ireland. Before the time of Solon, property descended equally to all relations, but he permitted the Greeks to leave it by will to whom they chose.

[m] Lambard's Perambulation.

[n] Robinson on Gavel-kind.

[o] Polyalbion, Canto xviii.

siderable difference of opinion exists respecting the derivation of Gavel-kind. Whittaker gives Gafael, Kinead, British, the family estate. Ghabhail, in Gaëlic, is a receiving, and also a tenure; cine is kindred.

The Udal inheritance in Orkney resembles Gavel-kind, but the brother received double the portion of a sister. The kindly tenure in the vicinity of the royal castle of Lochmaben, where the tenants hold of the king, and transmit simply by possession, is a vestige of the Celtic system of common holding, and seems much older than the time of Robert Bruce, by whom it is thought to have been first granted.

"The tenure by the straw," a customary freehold peculiar to the Isle of Man, is also a relic of this ancient usage. The possession descends by right of primogeniture, and extends to females, with certain reservations to widows, &c. The Earl of Derby having in the seventeenth century prevailed on several of the inhabitants to surrender this right for tenantcies at will, a prophecy embodied in an old song, foretelling that none who were accessary to this alienation of their right should be able long to retain an acre, is said to have been duly fulfilled.

By the old Scotish practice, in giving a farm to a tenant for a long or short period, he was presented with a stick and some straw, which he immediately returned to the proprietor, and they were mutually bound.[p] Lands continued to be held in the Highlands, without the formality of writing, according to the ancient practice in Scotland, until the middle of the eighteenth century.[q]

The right of primogeniture among the Celtic race was, however, obliged to give way to superiority in military abilities. The anecdote of the young chief of Clanrannald is well known. On his return to take possession of his

[p] Martin. [q] Lord Kames.

estate, observing the profuse quantity of cattle that had been slaughtered to celebrate his arrival, he very unfortunately remarked, that a few hens might have answered the purpose. This exposure of a narrow mind, and inconsiderate display of indifference to the feelings of his people, were fatal. "We will have nothing to do with a hen chief," said the indignant clansmen, and immediately raised one of his brothers to the dignity. So highly did the Highlanders value the qualifications of their commander, that in the deposition of one whom they deemed unworthy, they risked the evil of a deadly feud. On this occasion, the Frasers, among whom young Clanrannald had been fostered, took arms to revenge his disgrace; but they were, after a desperate battle, defeated with great slaughter, and the unhappy hen chief perished on the field.

It has been doubted whether the Gaëlic chiefs ever consulted with the elders, or, if they did so, whether it was otherwise than as a council of war. It appears to me that they had a regular senate, whose advice they availed themselves of on all occasions. The Pictish kings had such an establishment as we learn from Adomnan, and "the chiefs of the Yles chose a king, and adjoined to him ane counsel of the wisest."[r] This council was formed, perhaps, of those who also acted as judges. Near Isla, says Buchannan, is Ilan na Covihaslop, or the island of council, where fourteen of the chief men sat daily for the administration of justice.[s] From the Regiam Majestatem, it appears the chiefs had twelve councillors, who sat in deliberation with them; an establishment to which I have seen reference in an old poem, and which is believed to have been introduced in the Hebrides by the Norse men. It was, however,

[r] "Manner of choosing the Kings of Scotland of old." MS. in Brit. Museum.

[s] Lib. i.

common to all Celtic nations, the people always maintaining a right to advise, and even a power to control their rulers. In a Gaëlic poem dedicated by Mac Dary, to O'Brian, of Thomond, it is said, "that it was every man's duty to possess the ear of his sovereign, with useful truths." The declaration made in 1309 by the Scots nobility, is a strong proof of the limited nature of the monarchy. It is there stated, that the title of King Robert Bruce was conferred by the people; and that, being advanced by their authority to the crown, he was thereby made King of Scotland.[t]

The public meetings of the Celts were frequent, for nothing could be done but by popular consent: the nobles met occasionally by themselves. On Cæsar's advance into Gaul, he says, a great council of princes was held. Polybius also notices these assemblies. When practicable, they were held on certain days, the full or change of the moon being reckoned most fortunate. The people never met without being armed, deliberating, as Nicholas Damascenus expresses it, on the affairs of state, "girded with iron."[u] When the Suevian monarchy had under the Romans become absolute, the arms were deposited in a public arsenal, "guarded by slaves," for it did not suit, says Tacitus, "the interest of an arbitrary prince to trust the power of arms with any but a slave." In the public assemblies were chosen the chiefs who administered justice, to each of whom were assigned one hundred persons, chosen from the people, to accompany him and assist him with their counsel and authority.[v] The chief magistrate among the Æduans was elected annually. He was called Vergobretus, and had the power of life and death, but was not allowed to go out of the kingdom.[w] Fear gubreath, the

[t] The Right of the House of Stewart to the Crown considered, 1746.
[u] Ap. Stobæus, 470. [v] Tac. de Mor. Germ. [w] Bello Gall. i. 14. 31.

man to command, or the person who judges, is a well known Gaëlic appellation. The Germans have Werkober;[x] and the Mayors of Autun, the capital of the Æduans, are still called Vierg.[y]

In these assemblies it was allowed to present accusations and prosecute capital offences. On small affairs, the chiefs decided; but on those of greater moment, the whole nation deliberated. The king's influence, like that of any other member, arose from his ability to persuade, for he possessed no individual authority to command, and had only the privilege of speaking first. All those matters on which the people decided, were afterwards examined and discussed by the chiefs.[z] Here are the Celtic houses of Lords and Commons.

At their feasts, which were frequent among all the Celtæ, the Germans deliberated about choosing their princes, reconciling parties, forming affinities, and discussed the questions of peace and war. They reckoned this the most proper time for considering those subjects, the heart being opened, and the mind fired with great and bold ideas, for these people were nowise subtle or politic, but disclosed to each other their most secret thoughts. But they did not rashly decide on any matter, for they met next day, and coolly revised and canvassed the various opinions of the preceding evening.[z] "They consult," says Tacitus, "when they know not how to dissemble; they determine, when they cannot mistake.

This, indeed, appears a little at variance with what Cæsar has said of the Gauls, that it was not permitted to speak of public affairs, but by permission of the council, a regulation necessary to prevent the mischief which occurred, in

[x] Werk, opus. Ober, supremum.

[y] Diss. Historique sur divers sujets, 1706. [z] Tac. de Mor. Germ.

consequence of the credulity of the people, who held slight reports as if they were a matter of experience.[a] The excessive curiosity of the Gauls, so similar to that of the present Highlanders, led them to stop passengers, and oblige them to tell all the news they had heard, before they were suffered to proceed; and any vague rumour affected them as if it were certain information. It was, therefore, a law with some, that those who had any news, should communicate with none until the magistrates had been informed, who, to prevent any commotion, were wont to conceal some things, and only impart to the public that which it was necessary should be known.[b] Spenser relates an anecdote of a Frenchman who, struck with the curiosity of the Irish, having met with one on the continent after many years' separation, asked him if he had ever heard the news about which he so anxiously inquired when in Ireland. If you meet one in the Highlands, this thirst for information will be very apparent; the answer to any question you may ask, is likely to be, "Where may you have come from?" "You are going south, it is likely;" "You come from such a place, perhaps;" or so on.

Among the ancient Celts there was no distinction of seats in places of assembly, but each sat where he pleased. Every one was heard with attention, and a singular custom prevailed in order to preserve order; if any one interrupted the person who was speaking, an officer came with a drawn knife, and, with threatening, ordered him to desist. This he repeated a second and a third time; and if the party still continued refractory, the messenger cut off as much of his garment as rendered what was left useless.[c]

[a] Bello Gall. vii. 4.

[b] Ibid. iv. 5. In Iceland, the chief men, by law, had the privilege of first conversing with the crew of a vessel that had newly arrived.

[c] Strabo, iv. p. 197.

When the Highland chief entered on his government, he was placed on the top of a cairn, raised in the form of a pyramid, and around him, but lower, stood his friends and followers. One of the principal persons then delivered him a sword and a white wand; and the orator, bard or Druid, recounting his pedigree, enumerated the exploits of his ancestors, and exhorted the young chief to emulate their noble example.[d] By the Tanaist law, in Ireland, when the chief was elected, he stood on a stone placed on a hill, and took an oath to preserve all the ancient customs inviolate,[e] and deliver peaceable possession to his successor. He, like the Highland chief, received a wand, and, on descending from the stone, he turned thrice round backwards and thrice forwards. The Tanaist, on his election, performed the same ceremonies, but set one foot only on the seat of inauguration. The stone on which the Lords of the Isles were crowned, bearing the marks of the feet, still exists; and near the cathedral of Cashel is one used by the Kings of Munster for a similar purpose.

The practice of crowning a king upon a stone is of extreme antiquity. The celebrated coronation chair, the seat of which is formed of the slab on which the kings of Scotland were inaugurated, is an object of curiosity to those who visit Westminster Abbey. The history of this stone is carried back to a period far beyond all authentic record; and the Irish say that it was first in their possession. According to Wintoun, its original situation was in Iona. It was certainly in Argyle, where it is believed to have remained long at the castle of Dunstaffnage, before it was removed to Scone, the place of coronation for the kings of Scotland,

[d] Martin's Western Islands, 102, &c.

[e] Spenser's View of the State of Ireland, 1633. Some of these stones bore the impression of a foot mark.

whence it was carried to London by Edward the First. This curious relic is of a dark colour, and appears to be that sort found near Dundee. It was looked on with great veneration by the ancient Scots, who believed the fate of the nation depended on it's preservation. The Irish called it Cloch na cinearnna, the stone of fortune, and the Scots preserve the following oracular verse:

Cinnidh Scuit saor am fine,
Mar breug am faistine:
Far am faighear an lia-fail,
Dlighe flaitheas do ghabhail.

"The race of the free Scots shall flourish, if this prediction is not false: wherever the stone of destiny is found, they shall prevail by the right of Heaven." Its possession was considered of so much importance, that its restitution was made an express article in a treaty of peace, and the subject of a personal conference between David the Second and Edward.[f] The office of placing the king on this stone was the hereditary right of the Earls of Fife.

Saxo Grammaticus, lib. 1, says it was the ancient custom in Denmark to crown the kings sitting on a stone. In 1396, in the circle called Morasten, near Upsall, this ceremony was performed. It is curious to find this Celtic practice retained in the kingdom of Britain, and to find its revered monarch a descendant of the ancient kings of the "free Scots."

These inauguration seats were always placed on eminences. On Quothquan Law, a beautiful green hill in the ward of Lanark, is a stone artificially hollowed, on which it is said that Wallace sat in conference with his chiefs.

The famous coronation chair was placed upon the moot hill of Scone, and, seated on it, the kings of Scotland promulgated the laws, as is recorded of Kenneth MacAlpin, about

[f] Ayloff's Cal. of Charters, Introd. p. 58.

850, of Malcolm II. 1006, and Robert the Bruce, who, the day after his coronation, 1306, sat "super montem de Scone." The Gaëlic moid, from which the Saxon, moot, Swedish, mote, &c. are derived, signifies a court or place of meeting; and these picturesque knolls are found all over Scotland and Ireland. The Tinwald of Man is a singular object of this nature. On this mount, the ancient kings were crowned, and the name signifies the place of convocation; a term applied to the ancient Irish parliament.[g]

The learned Whittaker says, Feudal tenures are coeval with the plantation of the island; and from all that is preserved concerning the Celtic form of government, he is warranted in the assertion; not that the system, as it appeared when refined by the Normans, prevailed in the first ages, but those usages on which it was founded originated with the Celts. Another writer has declared that feudism extends from the earliest ages, and the rudiments of it may be clearly perceived in the institutions of clanship.[h] We have seen the freedom of this mode of government, and observed that the customs of the people were regulated by certain rules of immemorial practice. It has, indeed, been stated that there being but two classes, the nobles and villains, among the British tribes, it was impossible for the feudal system to exist in that state of society; but the latter class were not debased in those early periods: in Kent, where the Celtic manners long remained, villainage was unknown.

The followers of a Celtic chief were treated with a degree of respect unknown in those countries where the labourers were considered as the live stock of a farm, and were regularly sold with the land whereon they lived. The

[g] See Johnstone's Ant. Celto Normannia.

[h] Dr. Mac Pherson's Diss. p. 140.

lowest members of a clan were of some consequence in the community, and felt a lively interest in all the quarrels in which the tribe might be engaged. They followed their leaders, not from compulsion, but from a sense of the justice of the cause, and from a veneration to their superiors, their natural chiefs. With them "the power of a father was the prerogative of a sovereign; and the obedience of a son the submission of a subject."[i] The rude plenty of the chief's hospitable board was the only pay that he could bestow, or the clansmen accept; the gifts which the warriors received, being accepted, as they were bestowed, without being considered as obligations;[j] and this mode of life, "however it might accidentally weaken the several republics, invigorated the general character."[k]

It is a fact that many Highland chiefs had no better proof of title to their lands than having possessed them from time immemorial, and were much alarmed when Bruce required them to exhibit their charters. It is even related of some, that, at a much later period, they felt most indignant that they should be required to hold by a roll of parchment what their ancestors had acquired by their sword, and held so long by no other tenure.

Mac Donald of Keppoch, disdaining to hold by a *sheepskin* the lands of Glenroy, in 1687, asserted by arms his right, against Mac Intosh, who had obtained a crown charter of the disputed territory, vanquished and took him prisoner, in a desperate battle, and then compelled him to renounce his acquired claim. In requital for his temerity, Keppoch's lands were laid waste, with fire and sword, by a strong body of regular troops. The ancestors of Lord Ree had no charter for their lands until 1499.

[i] Whittaker. [j] Tac. de Mor. Germ. c. 21.
[k] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. 12.

The Lords of the Isles, in conveying lands to their followers, used a very simple form of charter, drawn up, according to the curious ancient practice, in rhyme, and running in this form: "I, Donald, chief of the Mac Donalds, give, here in my castle, to Mac Kay, a right to Kilmahumag, from this day till to-morrow, and so on for ever." Kneeling on the "black stones," he confirmed these grants.

Camden, Spelman, and other learned authors, consider knighthood to have been derived from the public investment of youth with arms,[l] a practice, as already described, that bears a striking resemblance to that of feudism. This system was decidedly military, and the whole institutions of Celtic policy were of a similar character. The military expeditions of the Celtic warrior, the probation of his virtues and abilities, were like those of the knights of later times, who, when there was no field for exertion at home, set out in quest of adventures, and, by constant exercise, preserved their warlike prowess. Chivalrous individuals in the Highlands were accustomed to go about like knights errant, and if not propitiated by a certain tribute, they asked a fair battle without favour. Dr. Mac Pherson found some persons who had seen these champions.

Cæsar says the robbery of other tribes was encouraged among the Gauls, to prevent effeminacy. Military virtue must have been highly valued where it was the sole safeguard of national independence.

"Treacherous," exclaims the eloquent Tacitus, "is that repose which you enjoy amongst neighbours that are powerful and fond of rule and mastership; when the sword is drawn, quietness and fair dealing will be in vain pleaded by the weaker."[m]

[l] See also Dr. Mac. Pherson's Diss.

[m] De Mor. Germ. Gordon's Trans.

Careful as the Celts were to cherish a warlike spirit, they did not live in that turbulence and anarchy which some have supposed. They fought desperately in a cause of quarrel: but valour was not more esteemed than fidelity to their friends and hospitality to strangers,—two characteristic virtues of the age of chivalry. To kill a stranger, was death; exile the only punishment for the murder of a native.[n]

The Ligurians and Iberi guarded those who were passing through their respective countries, whether Greeks or Celts; and a fine was exacted from the people in whose territories a traveller might receive an injury.[o]

Distracted with inveterate feuds, often promoted to accelerate their destruction; living distinct from the Lowlanders, and obnoxious to their laws; yet the state of the Highlanders appears at no time to have been so bad as that of the people on the borders of the two kingdoms, where the government was often unable to repress the greatest outrages.

The Highlanders made their Creachs[p] on hostile tribes only, or carried their *harishipe* into districts of the low country; where the inhabitants were inimical to their welfare, and were taught to consider the mountaineers as "barbarous, ethnick," and opposed to all social order.

Their forays were only a retaliation for recent injuries, or in revenge of former wrongs, for they were careful of offending a clan with whom they were in amity. The Camerons having, by mistake, attacked the Grants of Moynes, the chief complained severely to Lochiel of the outrage, who sent an immediate apology, regretting that, through ignorance, they had attempted to plunder the lands of their friends, and offering to submit the adjustment of their respective losses to arbitration. He had not much

[n] Nich. Damascenus, ap. Stobæus, 470. [o] Aristotle.

[p] Creagh, a prey. The same word in German is war.

reason to dread the award, for the Grants had defeated the invaders; and their chief complains that he had eight dead and twelve under cure, "whilk he knew not who should live or who should die."

They did not engage in these raids from a mere pleasure in robbing their neighbours. There is reason to believe that they submitted to many grievances before they resorted to arms. A scarcity made them bethink themselves on whom they could levy a contribution. A hint from a clansman, who was obliged, from hunger, to gnaw a bone, induced his chief to undertake a foray which is still celebrated as creach an aisne, i. e. of the rib; but it is absurd to suppose they would, on any consideration, rob a friendly or unoffending tribe. When they carried off cattle, or other spoil, it was with the consciousness that their own herds were exposed to the risk of being appropriated by others. Rapine and mutual aggression were, in some degree, unavoidable consequences of the state of society; but the evil was not so serious to the inhabitants as might be supposed. "The creach," says a Gaëlic proverb, "is not so bad, from which the half is recovered;" and again, "What the worse is one of the foray, if it lessen not the race;" property, it has been observed, must be perfectly established before the loss of it can be felt. There was no peculiar pleasure in eating cattle that were not their own. Derrick, indeed, says of the Irish, that,

> "The stolen horse, the mutton, and the beef,—
> Which things to want, who holds it not a grief."

But the Highlander knew that a rupture with his neighbours placed his own flocks in peril; while, if the war was not successful, hunger and misery was certain to ensue.

The Highlanders had a peculiar faculty of tracing the cattle which had been *lifted* or carried off. They were

able not only to trace their foot-marks on the grass, but even to distinguish those which were merely straying from others driven along by the enemy.

When the track of the cattle was lost, the person on whose property it might happen, became liable either to recover the trace, or make restitution to the amount lost. This wholesome regulation acquired the force of law. It was a no less salutary regulation which made a chief answerable for the deed of his clansman, and obliged him to deliver up an offender. This was called cincogish, from cine, a tribe, and congish, affinity. Alfred had a law of this kind, and it was embodied in the statutes of Scotland.

Tasgal money was a reward offered for the recovery of stolen cattle; but the Highlanders were so averse to a system by which they were liable to get into awkward circumstances, that it was unanimously discouraged; some clans, as the Camerons, bound themselves by oath never to accept such a bribe, and to put to death any individual who should do otherwise.

Their dexterity in plundering induced the people of the low country, and even borough towns, to agree with certain parties for protection, on condition of their paying a stipulated sum under the name of black mail.

These agreements were for a certain extent of country and a limited time. If the mail was not punctually paid, the Highlander had little difficulty in liquidating his own claims; and if the cattle were stolen by others, he made good the loss. It was usually stipulated that, in case of civil commotion, the parties should be released. If one had a claim on another, and could not get payment, he might carry off as many cattle as were sufficient to cover the amount, provided he sent notice that he had done so, when out of the reach of pursuit, and intimated his wish to return them if his demand were satisfied.

The chief received two-thirds of the spoil acquired in a foray, or its produce; and the other third was the share of the captors.[q] It was, besides, customary to pay a certain number of cattle, or amount of other booty, to a chieftain, through whose lands the party might be obliged to pass. About 1341, John Munro, tutor to the laird of Foulis, having, in revenge of certain injuries, carried off a prey of cattle from Strathardale, in Perth, was asked by MacIntosh, in passing Moyhall, for part of the spoil, according to custom. A reasonable portion was offered, but MacIntosh insisting on the half, collected his vassals, and, pursuing the Munros, overtook them at Clach na harry, who, sending the booty to a place of safety, stood to their arms and overthrew their assailants, most part of whom, with the chief, were slain.

Laws are valuable materials in the history of nations: they are true evidences of the domestic state of society, at the periods when they prevailed. Laws are at first traditionary, and in this state they existed among the Celtic nations, long before they were written. Until the kingdom of Scotland was firmly consolidated, the tribes were governed by their traditionary customs and local usages.

The Scotish Law was undoubtedly indigenous, and appears composed of the unrecorded practice of the Celts, and much of the statute law which prevailed in England, and must have been equally derived from ancient British customs. Much of the existing common law of the land is to be deduced from the era of Druidism, and Montesquieu shews, that the English constitution itself emanates from a pastoral state of society. The old terms in Scots law being Gaëlic, and the laws themselves distinctly pointing to the customs of those nations, it must be inferred that the

[q] Birt.

system of jurisprudence existed before it was embodied in the "Regiam Majestatem." To the Celtic institutions of our ancestors, are assuredly to be referred most of the national statutes, and the ancient usages of Scotland, which Lord Stair declares to be a common law.

A very ancient body of laws, called the Malmutin, from their author, was translated from Celtic into Latin by Gildas Albanius, and rendered into Saxon by King Alfred.[r] Fingal is celebrated by the Irish for his wisdom in making laws, some of which, O'Flaherty says, were extant in his own time. Adomnan, who lived in the end of the seventh century, propagated the Macentian code; and Aodh, or Ethfin, enacted laws that are noticed in the Pictish Chronicle, as those of Edi. They were renewed by Kenneth Mac Alpin, the celebrated king and legislator. The Welsh laws, although of high antiquity, were not recorded until the time of Hwyel Dha, in the tenth century. That those of Scotland, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, were different from the English, we learn by the attempts of Edward the First, to abolish the "usages and customs of the Scots and Brets." In Galloway, they were confirmed by Robert the Bruce and David the First,[s] and remained in force longer than in other parts of the kingdom. In Ireland, they existed within these two hundred years.

The Druids combined the offices of priest and legislator, and decided according to maxims traditionally handed down from the most remote periods. Law and religion are closely connected in primitive society, and not entirely disjoined in periods the most refined. The Celtic priesthood possessed the highest power; but, during war, they shared it with the chiefs, who, in peace, were also permitted to decide in minor affairs. The Feargubreath was, most

[r] Dempster's Hist. Ecclesiast. vi. [s] Robertson's Index of Charters.

likely, of the druidical order. The office was anciently elective on the continent, but in these islands the judge was hereditary. He was styled the Brehon or Brithib, and gave name to the laws by which he decided. In Man they are still called Breast.

These judges had a good farm assigned for their support, and were besides entitled to the eleventh, twelfth,[t] or thirteenth,[u] of the fines imposed. In the Isle of Man, the Keys, who were anciently called Taxiaxi: the Deemsters, the Coroners, and all officers of justice, formerly lived at the king's expense. The judge had the assistance of a council of twelve or fourteen, who, in the Western Isles, sat daily for the administration of justice.[w] He had no power of legislation, for the king himself could not abrogate or enact a law without the consent of the people. It does not appear that in early ages there was a regular jury. In the twelfth century, the people of Galloway decided without one. The Northern nations we, however, find had anciently twelve compurgators; and in some parts of Norway the peasants are at this day tried by a jury of themselves, whose decision is final, and who proportion the punishment with strict regard to the guilt of the parties. To dispute the award of this rustic tribunal, is to become an outcast from society.[x] In Man, twelve men from each sheading were summoned to attend the Alting; but this number, being a tota lof seventy-two, from whom the doomers were chosen, was reduced by Sir John Stanley to twenty-four, who are now self-elected.

The Brehon required no clerk to register the proceedings. In Scotland, he sat on the top of a hillock, and sometimes placed himself on the middle of a bridge. In Ireland, we are told, he "sitteth him downe on a banke, the

[t] Dr. Mac Pherson. [u] Highland Soc. Rep. on Ossian's Poems.
[w] Buchannan. [x] Conway's Journey.

lords and the gentlemen at variance round about him." David the First, of Scotland, sat on certain days at the door of his palace, to hear and decide the causes of the poor.[y] The practice of holding courts in the open air, which so long prevailed in Britain, was a relic of Druidism, which subsisted in most European countries. The court of Areopagus, at Athens, sat in the open air; and Pliny informs us the Roman senate was first so held.[z] That circular enclosures of stone were used as courts of justice, and places for trial by combat, is well known.[a] In Scandinavia, they were long so appropriated; and in Shetland and Orkney the practice continued to very late times. In these last places they were called Ting, which, according to Dr. Murray, originally signified to surround, and is therefore of similar import with the Gaëlic cearcail, the Circus or round temple, which seems to have been the place where laws were originally enacted and promulgated: the Tings being, at first, judicial only, but in process of time they became also legislative.

On the abolition of Druidism, the courts which had been held in the circles, were transferred to the church; but the practice being deemed incompatible with Christianity, it was prohibited by an express canon. It appears to me, that from this originated the Moothills, or eminences, on which law courts were afterwards held. The most remarkable object of this kind is the Tynwald, in the Isle of Man, represented in the vignette to this Chapter, upon which the Duke of Athol, as descendant of the ancient kings, annually presides. In 1417, Sir John Stanley, then king, was thus instructed in the regal duties, and official

[y] Scotichron, v. 20. [z] Lib. viii. c. 45.

[a] One of these on the hill of Tyrebacher, Aberdeenshire, is represented at the end of this chapter.

practice, which are almost the same in the present day. He was to sit in his robes of state upon the hill of Tynwald in a chair, his face to the east, and his sword before him, held with the point upwards; his barons in the second degree sitting beside him, his beneficed men and deemsters also sitting before him; his clerks, knights, 'squires, and yeomen being around him in the third degree. The commons, with three clerks in their surplices, stood outside the circle of the hill. The deemsters called in the coroners, who carried their rods in their hands, and their weapons about them, either sword or axe. The Moars of every sheading came also, and the coroner of Glenfaba made a fence with much solemnity, prohibiting all from making disturbance, under the pain of hanging and drawing, while the king opened the court, promising to decide as uprightly *as the staff in his hand.*

The Godordsman, Gode, or priest, summoned the inhabitants by a stick or stone. The token of the kings of Man, and of his deemster, was a small slate, on which their initials were inscribed, and it was a penalty of £3 to falsify it. These simple warrants were only prohibited in 1763. When a person was murdered, an arrow was sent to assemble a Ting. In Ireland, when any one was wronged, he sat on an ox's hide in a public thoroughfare. All went armed to these meetings, and within the limits of the ting no one was admitted without permission, the defendants in a trial being obliged to stand extra circum.[a] In Ireland, the moothills are called raths, and sometimes mota. In Scotland they are usually on the margin of a river, and in the immediate vicinity of a religious edifice, forming an interesting object in the landscape. The one here represented is situated close to the ancient site of the

[a] Dr. Hibbert, in Trans. of Society of Ant. of Scotland.

church of Inverury, in Aberdeenshire, and is denominated the Bass, probably from bas, death or judgment.[b]

The Celtic laws were remarkable for favouring an equality of right, and the state of civilization was strongly conducive to the preservation of a community of property and labour. Agriculture was pursued by the assistance of a whole tribe, and every other occupation of general importance was executed in a similar manner; the labour of every individual being given to a work of which all received the benefit. In private affairs this principle was not overlooked. Among other instances, by the Manx law, any one in want of stone or lime may dig in his neighbour's land for it, paying only a reasonable satisfaction for breaking the ground. In the Western Isles, all fishing-lines were required to be of an equal length, to prevent any thing like an unfair advantage.[c]

Among the Celtæ almost every crime was expiated by a payment, made either to the party injured or to the chief. Tacitus found it "a temper wholesome to the commonwealth, that homicide and lighter transgressions were settled by the payment of horses or cattle, part to the king or community, part to him or his friends who had been

[b] See Sir J. Munro, of Foulis, on the Hills of Dunipace. Trans. ut sup.

[c] Martin.

wronged." The Germans hung traitors and deserters on trees; cowards, sluggards, and the depraved, were smothered under hurdles in mud and bogs, to shew thereby that glaring iniquities ought to be punished openly; effeminacy, and those crimes which are less obvious, but destructive to morality, and hurtful to the state, ought to be removed from sight and from the face of the earth.

The law of Scotland allowed this mode of compensation for crime in most cases, the fine or mulct being termed Eric, a reparation. According to O'Conner, this law was first promulgated in Ireland, anno 164, by which, says Dr. Warner, the Irish were brought to more humanity, honesty, and good manners, than had ever been before known. In his memoirs of Sir Thomas More, he continues, "we too far infringe on God's commands, by taking away the lives of men for theft and robbery. It is not only a pernicious error,—for extreme justice is extreme injury,—but a national abomination. The wilfulness of the crime is no sort of excuse for making the punishment far exceed the heinousness of the transgression." Roderick, the last king, exacted 3600 cows as an eric, for the slaughter of Murcertach O'Brian, King of Munster, in 1168.[d]

When the Lord-Deputy told Mac Guire that he was to send a sherrif into Fermanagh, lately made a county, "he shall be welcome," said the chief, "but let me know his eric, that if he lose his head I may put it on the country."[e]

Cro, a ransom, by metonymy, signified both blood and death. The cro of a villain was 16 cows, of an earl's son, or thane, 100, of an earl 140, and that of the king of Scots was 1000 cows.[f] Asythments in Scotland were anciently paid in cattle, and the terms prove that the law originated in pastoral society.[g]

[d] O'Conner's Diss. [e] State of Ireland, 1673. [f] Regiam Majestatem.
[g] In all Gaëlic dialects are terms of a similar signification.

Kelchy or Kelchyn, "ane penalty enjoined to a man who confesses his fault," is from the Gaëlic gial, a pledge, cine, kindred, or, perhaps, cean, head, the price of one, or a fine for manslaughter. An earl paid for this 66⅔ cows, his son, or a thane, 44 cows, twenty-one pence and ⅔ of a bodle.[h] This fine belonged to the kinsman of the person slain; but if the wife of a rustic was killed, the lord had the kelchyn, and the parents the cro and the calpes.

Enach is a bounty, and sometimes means a ransom.

Calmes, according to Dr. Mac Pherson, comes from gial, a pledge, and meas, an estimate; but it seems, rather, caël-meas, the price of a gaël.

The Calpich was a payment made to the chief, and is derived from calpa, a cow, in many cases the only article that could be given. The Irish revenue was always paid in cat le, and in Scotland it was the same, even in the time of Bruce.[i] Martin says that a tenant was bound to make payment whether he resided on the estate or not.

Cane signifies rent, and cean-mhath, or cunveth, was a payment of first fruits; not, however, peculiar to the clergy, for in 1186 it was awarded by a jury to the king, out of Galloway.[k] Cane duties are, to this day, exacted on many farms. The "Mails" of Scotish law is another Celtic term, and signifies rent, or tribute.

The usual services are labour in seed time, hay and corn harvest, and the "casting and leading" of peats, or turf, certain quantities of spinning, payment of lambs, fowls, eggs, butter, &c. &c. A laird in north Knapdale had a servitude of a night's lodging on one of his vassals, and in the proof taken of the value of his estate, there occurs "Item, for cuidoich 20*s*.[l]

[h] Skene's Auld Laws of Scotland. [i] Caledonia. [k] Regiam. Maj.
[l] Agric. of Argyle.

A tenant in Caithness spun a certain quantity of woollen yarn, and so much of lint, paid a quantity of oats to feed the laird's horses: trout, if near a river or lake; and, if in the vicinity of a wood, a certain number of *nasks*, i. e. binders of birch, to secure the laird's cows.

In Man, the swine of felons belonged to the king, the goats to the queen.[m]

According to Diodorus, the Celts impaled on stakes and burned on lofty piles those who were guilty of any great crime, after a close imprisonment of five years; and in like manner he says they used their captives, some cutting the throats, burning or otherwise destroying both men and beasts. Among the ancient Caledonians, malefactors who were sentenced to death were burnt between two fires, from whence is derived the saying, "edir da teine Bheil," he is between the two flames of Bel. The Breith-a-nuas, still used for a judge's decision, points to the era of Druidism.

The sacrifice of captives, which was considered, in certain cases, necessary for propitiating the deity, may be here noticed. The Celts were naturally humane, and willingly acknowledged bravery in an enemy; as in the case of the Cimbri, who released a part of the Roman army when captured, from admiration of their courage; but they also, at times, committed great atrocities. A general, being returned from the pursuit of an enemy, picked out from among the captives the choicest and strongest young men, and sacrificed them to the gods: the rest he shot to death with darts, most of whom he had long known, but former friendship was no argument to spare a man of them.[n] This severity was, however, unusual, for they appear to have generally behaved with moderation when victorious. When they had slain their enemy, we are told, they hung his head about the necks of their horses, and deliver-

[m] Sacheverel. [n] Diod. Fragm. xxvi. p. 65.

ed the spoils, besmeared with blood, to their servants, to be carried before in triumph, themselves following and chanting the pæan of victory.

The state of Celtic society may be farther elucidated by viewing the condition of the females, for civilization is marked by the station which women hold in society. Among savages, the intercourse between the sexes is regulated by no principles of morality, and the females are always degraded. Refined nations treat them with the nicest honour and most punctilious respect.°

Cæsar has, in his fifth book, left a record which is extremely unfavourable to the Gaulish and British character. The former are said to have despised their females, and the latter are represented as indulging in a community of wives. Sir William Temple gives specious reasons for the existence of this barbarous and disgusting practice: Drs. Henry, Mac Pherson, and others, have taken much pains to vindicate our ancestors from an imputation so injurious and so incredible. That such a custom did exist, is extremely doubtful; but under "Marriage" the subject will be resumed and more fully investigated.

Tacitus does not countenance the reproach of Cæsar, and the charge of immorality brought against the inhabitants of the continent has been repelled by Gibbon, with forcible arguments. The Celts allowed their wives to assist in councils and in settling controversies with their allies, submitting, with suitable deference, to their just decisions.

The influence of the sex, and the high respect in which they were held, are acknowledged proofs of polished manners, and are most remarkable in the age of chivalry. This age continued among the Gaël while their primitive institutions remained entire. There is no country in Europe,

° See Millar's Distinction of Ranks.

where women are more esteemed than in the Highlands of Scotland: "an unfaithful, unkind, or even careless husband is there looked upon as a monster."[p]

The Celts are said to have had power of life and death over their wives and children; and when a husband, in a respectable family, died, his relations held an inquest, and strictly interrogated the widow. If she were found guilty of having been accessory to his death, she was executed with fire and torments.[q]

The Germans cut off the hair of an adultress, and, in the presence of her kindred, expelled her naked, pursuing her, with stripes, through the village; for no pardon was ever granted to a woman who had prostituted herself. "However beautiful she be," says Tacitus, "however young, however abounding in wealth, a husband she can never find."

By the Welsh laws, a man was not allowed to beat his wife, but for three causes: for wishing disgrace to his beard, attempting to murder him, and for adultery.

The barbarity of the Scots has been inferred from the existence of the merched mulierum, a custom that has been understood to mean the right of the lord to the first night of a newly married vassal's wife. Much has been written on this abstruse term,[r] and many etymologies have been given in proof of the revolting custom. Its import is clearly the fine that was paid for liberty to marry; which was exacted in Scotland within these 200 years. A superior could demand a sum, as marriage right, from a male as well as female heir,[s] and women were entitled to receive it. The merched for an earl's daughter was twelve cows, the queen having the perquisites, and for a thane's,

[p] Jamieson's Notes on Birt's Letters, ii. p. 46. [q] Cæsar, vi. 17.

[r] See an Essay by Lord Hailes. Whittaker's Hist. of Manchester, an excellent paper, by Mr. Anderson, W.S. in the Trans. of Scot's Ant. &c.

[s] Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland, 1746.

one cow. Boece says it was a silver mark; Buchannan the half of one.

It is scarcely possible for us to conceive that a custom so repugnant to the natural feelings of mankind, could exist in any society at all removed from the lowest barbarity. Marriage altered the state of the parties, and their relation to the chief. Neither widow nor single person was permitted to marry without consent of her superior, and the highest of the nobles were not exempted from the fine.

The Scots are characterized as very litigious, contending strenuously for what they consider a right, although it may be of no advantage;—like a substantial farmer, well known in Edinburgh, who utterly ruined himself in prosecuting his claim to the site of a dunghill; but they appear formerly to have adopted a summary mode of settling disputes. Sir Anthony Weldon thought, in the time of King James, that "their swords were their judges, by reason whereof they had but few lawyers, and those not very rich."

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE DRESS OF THE ANCIENT CELTS, AND COSTUME OF THE PRESENT GAËL.

Savages in most countries have been found to paint their naked bodies, both for ornament, and with a view to inspire their enemies with terror. Before they have learned to cover their persons with any material, this may be considered their dress; but long after they have adopted partial clothing they continue, from attachment to ancient custom, and for the purpose of distinction, to stain, with particular colours and symbols, those parts of the body that remain uncovered.

Allied to the custom of painting, for the purpose of rendering themselves terrible to their enemies, is the barbarous practice of besmearing the face with the blood of those who were slain. The Irish, we learn from Solinus, were accus-

tomed to augment their fierceness of visage by this method, and, according to Spenser, the custom had not been entirely dropped in his time. The idea of filling an enemy with dread by personal appearance, is not a bad conception; for, as Tacitus remarks, on the savage figure of the Germans, the eyes of men are first overcome in battle. It was for the purpose of intimidation that the ancient nations stained their bodies, cherished their hair, carried strange crests or helmets, and wore peculiar apparel; and from this practice has probably originated the military costumes of the present day. The British tribes were remarkable for the practice of painting their bodies; but it is not a little singular that no positive authority appears for this mode of decoration among the Gauls of the continent. Except a fragment of a statue, supposed to be a Gallic Mercury, discovered at Framont, that prolific field for antiquarian research, and here represented, I have not met with any sculpture to indicate the prevalence of this custom.[a]

Pelloutier thinks that Tacitus alludes to the practice among the Iberians;[b] he plainly describes the Arrians of Germany as tincta corpora. The Budini, a Getic people, painted their bodies blue and red;[c] and Virgil describes all the Geloni, or Getæ, as picti.[d] The Daci and Sarmatæ

[a] Montfaucon's Antiquites expliques.
[b] ii. 7. p. 129. ed. 1770.
[c] Herodotus, iv.
[d] Georgics, ii. 115.

delineated various characters or figures on their bodies, and the women stained their faces with the juice of various herbs.[e] The Thracians also, especially the ladies, painted their skins.[f] The Agathyrsi, a Scythic nation, who are placed in Scandinavia by Jornandes, and on the Sinus Codanus by Rudbeck, painted their bodies with blue marks, the nobles being distinguished by a great number of these spots or figures.[g]

Pliny tells us, the glastum, with which the Britons dyed their bodies, was found in Gaul, but does not say the inhabitants made a similar use of it. The inference is that they did, but we have no express authority for the supposition; from which Dr. Mac Pherson thought, that as the painting could not have been derived from Gaul, it originated among the Caledonians. The Picts, by popular tradition, took their name from this practice; and their chronicle and Isodore agree in saying, that the Scoti became Picti from this circumstance.

All the Britons, Cæsar says, painted with woad, and described various figures on their bodies. These consisted of the sun, moon, and other planets, animals, &c. The women dyed their whole bodies with this vegetable, the married and young equally, and they appeared so ornamented at sacrifices and other solemnities quite naked.[h] Claudian seems to describe Britannia as painted in the cheeks.

The stains were impressed in youth; for it was a sort of tattooing, similar to what is performed on the Indians, and for this purpose certain iron instruments were used. The Geloni marked themselves with tools of this metal,[i] and it was by a similar process that the Picts and other inhabi-

[e] Pliny, xxii. 1. [f] Dio Chrysostom.
[g] Amm. Mar. xxxi. Solinus, c. 15. Virgil. [h] Pliny, xxii. 1.
[i] Virgil.

tants of Britain stained or tinctured their bodies.[j] The British youth, says Solinus, were "marked with the figures of different animals by nice incisions, and there was nothing which they bore with more fortitude than the operation, by which their limbs received a deep colouring in durable scars." Isodore says, the bodies of the Picts were punctured with a sharp instrument, and his expression "stigmata Britonum" seems to imply a deeper incision than other nations made.[k]

The marks produced by this operation generally appear blue, when the matter applied is not exactly of that colour, as may be observed on the hands and arms of seamen and others, from which it may be concluded that the ancient Britons did not confine themselves to the use of woad. Isodore, who describes the Goths as using red, says, the Picts coloured themselves with the juice of green grass;[l] and Ovid terms the Britons "Virides." Martial calls them blue, and the expression "cœruleas scuta Brigantes,"[m] is applied to the personal appearance of that nation. Herodian seems to represent the Britons as painted with various colours, "notant corpora pictura varia et omnifariam formis animalium,"[n] which is translated by several authors as meaning paintings of different colours, and is applied to the Caledonians. Maule says, that Argentocoxus, or rather Argachocoxus, a celebrated chief of the Caledonian Picts, derived his name from the ancient word Coch, or Goch, red, and that therefore he was of the red clan, as others might be of Clan-buy, the yellow tribe, &c. The conjecture is ingenious, if not satisfactory.

This practice of staining the body was retained by the

[j] Claudian de Bello Getico.

[k] Origines, xix. 23. Pliny says, some Eastern nations marked their bodies with hot searing irons.

[l] Ap. Maule's History of the Picts.

[m] Seneca de Claudio.

[n] Hist. iii.

Angli, to so low a period as the Norman conquest. They are even described by William of Malmsbury, as having their skins marked with figures.° The custom had before his time been very prevalent, but the attention of the clergy was at last called to this relick of paganism; and the council of Cealhythe, in 787, denounces those who used such ornaments, as moved "diabolico instinctu," the body which was created fair and comely, being coloured with dirty stains, unprofitable to salvation.

Mankind did not at first clothe themselves for the sake of decency. Dress is assumed more from pride and ostentation among savages, and is rendered subservient to their protection in war, rather than adopted as a defence from the severities of climate. The Greeks and Romans thought it no indelicacy, to appear naked in public. Larcher on Herodotus states a remark of Plato, that the Greeks had not long considered it ridiculous and disgraceful for a man to appear in a state of nudity.

In dress, as before observed, the chief object was to impress the enemy with dismay, by producing a strange and terrific appearance: a second, and not less strong feeling in decorating the person, was vanity. Pride of dress is found to influence the lowest savages, who are, according to their circumstances, as ostentatious in this respect, as the most civilized society.

No race were more proud of their apparel and personal decorations, than the ancient Celtæ, and their taste in arraying themselves, with the singularity and splendour of their attire, struck their enemies with amazement. The beauty and riches of the dress of the Gauls, at the battle of Telamon, was wonderful, for the whole army shone with purple silk and chains, and bracelets of gold, which

° De G. R. A. L. 3, "picturatis stigmatibus cutem insigniti."

they wore about their wrists and neck,[p] and the brilliancy of colour in their sagas were the admiration of other nations, who were proud to make a humble imitation of the manufacture.

The undressed skins of animals form the first covering of mankind, and they continue to be used until the art of fabricating more suitable materials is discovered, or until all have attained sufficient wealth to purchase them. The Greeks, more particularly the Arcadians, were clothed in skins, in the time of Aristodemus,[q] and the Ligurians continued long to dress themselves in the hides of wild beasts, fastened around them, by means of a belt.[r]

Tacitus says, the remote Germans wore the skins of animals, in some cases from necessity, in others from choice, and some of them they diversified with numerous spots.[s] Cæsar also describes the Suevi as arrayed in skins, and Virgil says the Getæ made use of the same covering.

According to Dio, the Caledonians were naked: but, as Dr. Mac Pherson observes, we are not to believe they were entirely destitute of covering. Herodian represents them as being only partially clad; and with their scanty covering the expression naked was not inapplicable.[t] At the period of Cæsar's descent, most of the inhabitants were clothed with the skins of animals,[u] but woollen garments were also in use. A clothing of undressed skins is easily procured, and is the best substitute for other materials, in a poor country, where manufactures are but little known. The common people in Germany and Gaul continued to dress in this manner, long after their chiefs had adopted garments of linen and woollen cloth. At the commencement

[p] Polybius, ii. [q] Pausanias, iv. 11. [r] Diodorus.
[s] De mor. Germ. They also dressed in the skins of sea monsters.
[t] Lib. iii. 47. [u] Bello Gallico.

of the Christian era, the Belgic Britons, who were more civilized than the nations of the interior, were generally dressed in woollen garments; but the use of this manufacture was chiefly confined to the southern tribes, for it was only the principal persons in the interior who had begun to use it. We find, in the ancient Gaëlic poems, the skin of a boar as the dress of a hero. The monks of Iona, at a later period, dressed in skins, although they had linen also, which they imported, no doubt, from the main land; nay, "in the book of dresses, Paris 1562, from which facsimiles are published," the Highlanders are said to be represented arrayed in sheep skins.[v]

The ancient Britons had a sort of manufacture of the inner bark of trees, which still exists among the farmers in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, &c. under the name of matten, who employ it for agricultural purposes. Mathan in Gaëlic is a twig, or rush, from which come the English mat, matted, &c.

The first woollen vestment which we find used by the Gauls and Germans, was a square blanket thrown over the naked shoulders, and, from its value, worn only by the chiefs. This was called sagum, the same name which was given to the inartificial cloak which it had succeeded. Sac, in Gaëlic, signifies a skin or hide. The Belgæ called this part of their dress lene, or linne. Reno, which Varro says is Gallic, was a term applied to it by some Germans, while others denominated it mastruga.[w]

The manufacture of woollen cloth must have existed among the Celtæ from the most early period. They were particularly ingenious in dying the material, and in its fabri-

[v] Letter on the Highland Dress. Scots' Mag. Nov. 1798, p. 743.

[w] Cluverius Germ. Ant. "Saga vulgo Sayon a quo milites nostros Sayatos appellamus." Pol Virgil de Invent. rerum, 1604.

cation; and their perfection in the art bespeaks long use and experience, as well as much taste. The singularity of the Gaulish habit excited the astonishment of the Romans: but although they adopted the use of the warm cloth which the Belgæ manufactured, it does not appear that they ever wore the showy pattern which the Celtæ had the honour to invent. Other nations, admiring its gaudy appearance, were induced to relinquish their own dress and adopt it instead. The Franks were so pleased with the striped sagum that they assumed it in preference to their own habit.[x] The Saxons, in like manner, imitated the curious workmanship of those ingenious people, and carried it to great perfection. The place where they worked was called "the Tuphus of woulle," and women attended to the manufacture.[y] The spinners and weavers in Germany worked under ground, in caves.[z]

There were different qualities of Celtic wool. That of Lusitania and of Narbonne was rough and coarse; in Piemont it was chiefly grey; in Celtiberia it was mostly black; and in Andalusia and Grenada it was reddish.[a]

The Gauls appear to have made a sort of felt without weaving, the cuttings of which were formed into mattrasses. Perhaps Strabo alludes to this article when he says the sagum was rough outside. When vinegar was used in the preparation of this, it resisted the blow of a sword, and was even some defence against fire.[b]

They shore the wool close, says Diodorus, and called their thick cassocks, cœnas. They also wore the sagum thicker than usual in winter. The Celtic weavers were, certainly, most ingenious artists, and produced work that astonished other nations, by its richness and singularity.

[x] Favin, also an author in Baluzii capitularia, ii. 741, quoted by Whittaker.

[y] Fosbrooke, in MSS. [z] Pliny. [a] Pliny, viii. 48.

The description of it has been supposed to imply that the figures of flowers were represented in the texture of the cloth, but this nice and difficult operation in the art is not likely to have been known in those rude ages. It was much easier to fall on the way of using alternate colours, both in warp and woof, and thereby produce that appearance which, at a distance, to those unacquainted with its nature, might readily be taken for flowering. Diodorus had no name for this manufacture, which was peculiar to the Celts, and only means to say, as I apprehend, that it resembled a flowered robe; for he goes on to describe it as formed in distinct striped squares.[b] This opinion seems confirmed by what Pliny says of the Lusitanian manufacture, that the mesh-work of the homespun garment gave it value. The "scutulato textu" has been taken for round figures, or lozenge-figured damask. The following note on the passage is more just: "textus virgatus est macularum instar cancellatim et reticulatim distinctus Lausagias Galli vocant."[c]

If we could give credit to the few dark intimations concerning the Hyperborei of Britain, a proof that the manufacture, which is plainly Tartan, existed in this country, at a period long prior to the commencement of our credible history, would be found; for Abaris, the high priest of that people, wore a robe which corresponds, from the description, exactly to the Scots' plaid.

It may be presumed, without insisting on an authority so doubtful, the Gallic colonists brought with them their national artificers and manufactures; as cloth does not ap-

[b] "Ac seu floribus conspersas." * * * * * "saga etiam virgata, crebrisque tesselis florum instar distincta." Pliny says, "Scutulis vestes dividere instituit Gallia;" while he elsewhere describes the Parthians as weaving letters or characters in their cloth. Lib. xiii. ii.

[c] Comment. ad Pliny, in ed. Lugd. 1668.

pear to have been an article of import with the Britons, among whom its use was common, at the era of the Roman descent.

The Belgæ are believed to have introduced the use of woollen vestments, an opinion which is founded on their being more generally worn by those tribes than the less polished inhabitants of the interior. The skins of animals, as they were more easily procured, appear to have formed the dress of the common people throughout the island, but the manufacture of woollen cloth was well understood at an early period.

Bondiuca wore a tunic, interwoven with various colours, over which was a mantle of a coarser texture, being the dress which she wore at all times.[d] Varro says the Britons wore a garment called Guanacum, which was of divers colours, woven together and making a gaudy show ;[e] and Tacitus says the Æstii, a German nation, wore the British dress, which must have been the Gallic.

The Saxons continued the manufacture, which Aldhelm, who was Bishop of Sherborn about 970, describes in a pleasing manner. Writing in praise of virginity, he says, "it is not the web of one uniform colour and texture, without any variety of figures, that pleases the eye and appears beautiful, but one that is woven by shuttles, filled with threads of purple and various other colours, flying from side to side, and forming a variety of figures and images in different compartments, with admirable art."[f] The Saxons, not having a sufficiently Celtic taste, appear to have given up this manufacture.

Cloth, in the most simple composition, is left of the natural wool, without being coloured by any artificial process. Hence the Celtiberians, in general, wore black sagas,[g] the

[d] Dio. [e] Ap. Strutt's Chronicles, p. 275. [f] Strutt, ut sup.
[g] Diodorus.

wool being of that colour. Giraldus Cambrensis says most of the Irish were clad in black, for the same reason ; and the Loughtan cloth of the Isle of Man is made from the natural wool of a particular breed of sheep, some of which are said still to exist in St. Kilda and other remote islands. The colour is yellowish, or that of an unblanched bitter almond, and the inhabitants are very partial to it.[h]

Throughout Scotland, more particularly in the North Highlands, the cloth was made of the undyed wool, the white and black being generally appropriated for blankets, or plaids, and for the upper garments, the grey for hose and mits for the gudeman. The Hodden grey was the general attire among the farmers, as it still, in most parts of the interior and in Ireland, continues to be. Sheep shearing was, perhaps, unknown to the primitive tribes. The Shetlanders still continue to tear off the wool; a practice less cruel than at first appears, for it is not done until after the roots have been forced out by the young fleece; but it is very injudicious, for much is naturally cast, and, consequently, lost.

It would appear that, in ancient times, the Irish had garments formed of hair. A coat of unknown texture was dug from a bog at a depth of fifteen feet; and in another place, eleven feet under the surface of the earth, a body was found clothed in a garment of hair. From the singularity of its appearance, the supposition was, that it had been fabricated from that of the Moosedeer.[i] We find that the Irish, in later periods than those to which the above discoveries are referable, wore "girdles of women's hair and locks of their lovers;"[j] nurses and children being

[h] Histories of the Isle of Man, Stat. Account, Agric. Rep. &c. The manx word Loshhyn, signifies burnt, or singed. Lachdan, in Gaëlic, is grey. "A Lauchtane mantle then him by." The Bruce.

[i] Archæologia, vii. [j] Gainsford's Glory of England, 1619.

girt with belts of female hair, finely plaited. These were rather ornamental than necessary apparel, but we find Fin Mac Coul was arrayed in "hieland pladdis of hair."[k]

Wool is the material which the Celtæ must have manufactured, from the most remote ages, and the texture of the web must have varied according to the abilities of the workmen, or affluence of the parties. In 1786, there was found among other articles, at a depth of seventeen feet, in a bog in Ireland, a coat in shape like a spencer or jacket, of a coarse woollen net-work.

The Highlanders sometimes made their plaids very fine, but, for general wear, they bestowed less pains.[l] The cathdath, or cadas, was a thick sort, made for the men, and intended, as its name, battle colour, implies, to be worn during war. Of this milled cloth, hose, trews, jacket and waistcoat were usually made, but the plaid and feilebeag were always of common tartan. Clodh was used for coats, and was commonly what is called hodden grey in the Lowlands, and lâchdan by the Highlanders. Cuirtan was similar to a common Scot's blanket, but of finer wool and fairer workmanship.

The luathadh, or process of fulling or cleansing cloth, in the Highlands, is conducted in a singular manner. Six or eight, sometimes even fourteen, females, sit down on each side of a long frame of wattled work, or a board ribbed longitudinally for the purpose, and placed on the ground. The cloth being wet, is then laid on it, and the women, kneeling, rub it with all their strength, until their arms become tired, when they sit down and applying their bare feet, commence the *waulking* in good earnest, singing a particular melody, the notes of which increase in loudness, as the work proceeds. The following account of the manner of preparing

[k] Interlude of the Droichis, noticed in Sir John Sinclair's Diss. on Ossian's Poems, p. xxvii.

[l] Martin. Gen. Stewart.

the plaids, and the expense attending the manufacture, about the middle of the last century, is given in the Agricultural Report of Caithness. When the web was sent home, it was washed in warm water, and, if it was necessary to full it, the door was taken off its hinges and laid on the floor, the web being then taken out of the water and laid on it. Four women, with bare legs, having sat down on a little straw, at equal distances on each side, on the signal of a song, (similar to the Ran de Vache, in Switzerland,) each applied the soles of her feet to the web, and began pushing and tumbling it about, until it was sufficiently done, when it was stretched out to dry. Cloth, if good, and for sale, fetched 1s. per yard, and tartan, if also good, and of fine colours, 1s. or 1s. 2d. That industry and simplicity of life, the reporter adds, are now gone.

This mode of washing is the Luaghadh, described by Pennant, and of which he has given a print. It is related of an English gentleman, that having accidentally looked into a cottage where the females were so engaged, he hastily retired, reporting that he had seen a whole company of furious lunatics.

Woollen must have been at first woven of one colour, or an intermixture of natural black and white, so frequently seen in Scotland, in the present day. The process of dying increases the expense, and is not at all times practicable. Buchannan says the prevailing colour in his time was brown; most likely that above alluded to. Blue was the favourite colour of the painted Britons, from which Britannia was represented arrayed in a blue garment.

Pinkerton and several other writers of less note, have affected to believe, that tartan was a recent invention. Its antiquity among the Celtæ is already proved, and if it was a manufacture of the ancient Britons, there appears no reason to believe that it was ever lost by their descendants.

Lesly and Buchannan mention it, as worn by the Highlanders; and an old chronicle says, the inhabitants of the Western Isles delighted "to wear marled cloaths, specially that have long stripes of sundry colours. Their predecessors used short mantles, or plaids of divers colours, sundry ways divided; and amongst some the same custom is observed to this day, but for the most part now they are broun, most near to the colour of the hadder, to the effect when they lie among the hadder, the bright colours of their plaids shall not bewray them."[m]

"In Argyle and the Hebudæ, before the middle of the fifteenth century, tartan was manufactured of one or two colours for the poor; more varied for the rich."[n] Beague describes the Gaël nearly 300 years ago as having a woollen covering, variously coloured. In the charge and discharge of John, Bishop of Glasgow, treasurer to King James III., 1471, are the following items:

"Ane elne and ane halve of blue Tartane to lyne his gowne of cloth of gold..	£1	10s.
Four elne and ane halve of Tartane, for a sparwort aboun his credill, price ane elne 10s.	2	5
Halve ane elne of doble Tartane to lyne ridin collars to her lady the Quene, price 8 shillins.		

There is a portrait of Sir William Wallace at Taymouth, a seat of Lord Braidalban, where the patriot is represented with a plaid of tartan fastened on his breast by a large brooch. The authenticity of this picture may be questioned, but it is possible for a rude painting to have been preserved by a copy, as was done with that of William the Lion in the hall of the incorporated trades of Aberdeen, which is known to have been re-painted from a very old and decayed portrait, upwards of one hundred years ago. If this, however, were not the case with the one in question,

[m] Lord Somers' Tracts, vol. xiii. [n] Heron's Hist. of Scotland, v. p. 28.

it is yet of greater antiquity than the period assigned by many for the introduction of the manufacture. It must have been handed down from the ancient tribes, but, from change of circumstances, the patterns were made less rich. The name breacan, which the Highlanders give to their upper garment, derived from breac, chequered, is a strong proof of its antiquity.

Achy Edgathach, an Irish legislator, is said to have introduced the Laws of colours to that people, which are represented as having done more towards procuring esteem and respect than all the trappings of eastern magnificence.* The number of colours among them and the Caledonians, indicated the rank of the wearer, a king or chief having seven, a Druid six, and other nobles four in their robes. In later times, those who could afford to do so, may have indulged their taste by introducing a variety of rich colours; the poor were obliged to make their cloth plain. Green and black, with an occasional stripe of red, seem to have predominated; but some districts have been distinguished for their peculiar taste, as Badenoch, where red tartan was prevalent, and Lochaber, where the patterns were remarkably gaudy, &c.

The Highlanders had neither cochineal, lac dye, foreign woods, nor other excellent substances to impart various tints to their Breacan; but their native hills afforded articles with which they had found the art of dying brilliant, permanent, and pleasing colours. Caledonia was indeed much less prolific in the materials for this purpose than Gaul, where the people arrived at high perfection in the art. With the use of herbs only in the process of dying, they produced colours so beautiful as to excite the admiration of the polished Greeks and Romans. They had

* Dissertations on the Ancient History of Ireland, 1753, p. 124.

a dye which rivalled the Tyrian purple. The hyacinth is said to have afforded this beautiful tint; but the vaccinium, supposed by some commentators to have been a certain herb, and by others taken for the whortle, scoticé, blaeberry, is particularly mentioned by Pliny, as having been employed by the Gauls to produce this colour,[p] the hyacinth, which, he says, prospered exceedingly in Gaul, being used to dye red.[q] These people also produced scarlet, violet, and all sorts of beautiful colours, from various plants. The first was extracted from the grain of a bramble which they called us, and the Greeks denominated coccos.[s] In Lusitania the royal scarlet was produced.[t]

The Gauls, says Pliny, were wiser than others, for they did not endanger their lives, and ransack foreign countries and seas for articles to dye their stuffs, to please a licentious populace, but, "with excellent thrift and good husbandrie, they stood safe upon the drie land, and gathered those herbs to die such colours as an honest minded person hath no cause to blame, nor the world reason to cry out upon."[u]

The British Gaël were, perhaps, unable to give those rich colours to their stuffs which appeared in the manufactures of the ancient Celtic tribes of the continent. They had various articles which they employed successfully in dying their garments; but when engaged in war, they preferred a dark pattern. Bark of aller, or alder, was used for black, that of willow produced flesh colour. Corkir, or crotil geal, a substance formed on stone, was made use of by the West Islanders to dye "a pretty crimson colour," and another similar substance called crotil dubh, "of a dark colour, only dyes a philamot," which is, however, very

[p] Pliny, xvi. c. 18. [q] Ibid. xxi. 26. [s] Pausanias, x. 36. Pliny.
[t] Pliny, xxii. [u] Ibid. xxii. Holland's Transl. 1601. p. 115.

permanent. There is a root called rue, once much used for red, but now strictly prohibited from being taken up, as the sand is loosened, and thereby becomes liable to overspread the land.[v] Other vegetable substances were employed by the Highlanders, who were able to produce finer colours than is generally supposed. The Caledonian women, who "wove the robe for their love," made it "like the bow of the shower." General Stewart mentions having seen specimens of very old tartan that retained the tints in their original brilliancy; and a gentleman assured me that he had seen a garment upwards of 200 years old, the colours in which were still admirable. The materials for dying were procured among their native hills, and, like the Gauls, they did not seek for articles produced in other countries. A Mr. Gordon, of Kirk Michael, Banffshire, about 1755, introduced to notice the simple process by which an elegant purple can be obtained from the crotil, cupmoss, or lichen, to which he gave the name cudbear, either from cuid a bear, the best part, or in allusion to his own name, Cuthbert. In the Scots' Magazine of 1776, he published a certificate from several dyers, that they used it with much success. It became consequently an article of trade, and in 1808 and 1809, from 4 to £500 worth was gathered off the rocks in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff;[w] but Mr. Gordon did not arrive at so much perfection in fixing the colour as many of his own countrywomen.

"Give me bullock's blood and lime," said a Highlander to a friend of mine, "and I will produce you fine colours." Every farmer's good-wife was competent to dye blue, red, green, yellow, black, brown, and their compounds. When we consider the care with which the Highlanders arranged

[v] Buchannan's History of the Western Islands.

[w] Agric. Rep. for Banffshire.

and preserved the patterns of their different tartans, and the pride which they had in this manufacture, we must believe that the dyers spared no pains to preserve and improve the excellence of their craft.

"There is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at much pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a small rod, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it."[x] The farmer's wife generally dyed her own wool, although there might be some small dye works in the neighbourhood; but whether she coloured the materials or employed others, the pattern of the web was not left to the weaver's fancy. He received his instructions by means of a small stick, round which the exact number of threads in every bar was shewn, a practice in use to this very day. Sir Benjamin West regarded the clan tartans as specimens of national taste, and says that there was great art displayed in the composition of the various patterns, and in the combination and opposition of colours.

The particular *setts*, or patterns, of tartan, appropriate to each clan, must have been long fixed. Every tribe and every island differed from each other "in the fancy of making plaids, as to the stripes, in breadth and colours."[y] The breacan of the Highlander was a sort of coat armour, or tabard, by which his name and clan were at once recognised. At the same time, in their undress they indulged their taste in fancy patterns. It was a valuable reward for good conduct in youth, to bestow a plaid, in which various colours were introduced, and it appears to have been prized by those of more advanced years. An old song makes a Celt, in wooing a Lowland lass, say:

[x] Martin. [y] Ibid. p. 208.

"Bra' sall the setts o' your braid tartans be,
If ye will gang to the north Highlands wi' me."

Tartans may be divided into the general descriptions of green and red, where these colours predominate. In the five regiments who still wear the kilt, it is the former. That of the 42nd is the plainest and most common pattern, and is often called the black watch, from the old name of the corps, who were so denominated from wearing tartan only, the red jacket being a late alteration. The regular colours are blue, black and green, but a red stripe in the middle of the former is often introduced. This is said to have been first added by Lord Murray, who commanded the regiment, as the Athol sett, and to distinguish the Feilebeag, then introduced from the old Breacan feile.[1] It appeared to me very ununiform in this regiment, that both patterns should be worn indifferently. The band continue to wear tartan of the same red pattern which formed the original dress of the pipers and drummers.

The 78th, or Ross-shire Highlanders, wear the Mac Kenzie tartan, having been raised from that clan.

The 79th, or Cameron Highlanders, wear their appropriate and well composed tartan.

The 92nd, or Gordon Highlanders, also wear their peculiar sett, which is very pleasing, and the 93rd wear the Sutherland tartan, which appears only different from the plain sett of the 42nd in having the green and blue lighter, the former being shewn in the kilt and plaid.

The 71st regiment, or Mac Kenzie Highland light infantry, when first raised, wore their own clan plaid; the 72nd, or Seaforth Highlanders, being also a Mac Kenzie regiment, wore the same tartan and costume; but the late Duke of York taking a fancy to this corps after their re-

[1] Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders.

turn from the Cape of Good Hope, called them "the Duke of Albany's own Highlanders," and gave them a scarf plaid and trowsers of the royal tartan. It is extraordinary that those two regiments, the oldest embodied clan corps, should wear trowsers, a dress formerly confined to lame, sick, or aged Highlanders! It has been a source of great vexation to their clan and country. Assuredly, Lord Mac Leod, the eldest son of Mac Kenzie, Earl of Cromarty, who raised the 73rd, now the 71st, and Mac Kenzie, Earl of Seaforth, who embodied the old 78th, now the 72nd, would never have thought of an alteration so unnecessary and so uncongenial to Celtic feeling. Whoever has the high honor to command the British army, should not forget how strongly the high minded and brave Gaël are attached to their national costume; and as these regiments have still the name of Highlanders, and are composed of them, it is to be hoped, their appropriate military uniform will be yet restored.

While on this subject, I cannot avoid noticing an unaccountable practice in some Highland regiments, where the officers seldom appear in the feilebeag, except on field days and particular occasions! Is it from an idea that it is unbecoming, or that the privates only are obliged to wear the kilt? It is a strange inconsistency, and a very unmilitary custom, for which I presume the respective colonels or adjutants are answerable. Having some time since lived four or five years where the 78th were stationed, I must exonerate that corps from the above reflections, officers and men being always dressed in proper regimentals.

His Majesty, and all the branches of the Royal Family, wear the royal plaid of the High Steward of Scotland, as shewn in the figure of the chief of the clan, and described in the table of tartans. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex has a pattern, peculiar to himself, which is repre-

sented in the explanatory plate. It is worn for Inverness, from which he has the title of Earl. All regular tartans are made, so that, in the folds of the kilt and plaid, which are formed in what is called quilled, or box plaiting, a particular stripe shall appear. Thus, in the Gordon sett, it is yellow, in the Mac Kenzie white, &c., and wherever one of these patterns cannot be formed in this way, the web is irregular; and an error in weaving would equally derange the operation of making up a jacket, which consumes a considerable quantity of cloth, being cut on the bias, and is a work of great nicety and skill.

The table given in the Appendix will shew the exact pattern of the tartans appropriate to the respective clans. It is as correct as the most laborious personal investigations, and the able assistance of some valued friends, conversant on the subject, could make it: still there are many clans, especially in the Lowlands, who have peculiar tartans, that are not included in the table.

The Highland Society, some years since, undertook the laudable task of collecting specimens of the various distinguishing tartans of the Scotish Celts, and succeeded in procuring a great many specimens. When we consider the severe laws that were passed, to restrain the Highlanders from wearing cloth of this manufacture, and the long period in which they were rigorously enforced, with the act which at once abolished the system of clanship, that venerable monument of the policy of our ancestors, and gave a deadly blow to the cherished institutions of the Gaël, we must cease to wonder that so much is lost of their ancient manners, and feel rather surprised that so much has survived "the abolition of heritable jurisdictions."

It will be seen that no Family tartans are introduced in the list. The investigations of the Highland Society, the stimulus given by the visit of our Gracious Monarch to

Scotland, where the great chiefs brought their followers to attend him, and where the Celtic Society, dressed in proper costume, formed his Majesty's body guard, with other circumstances which rendered it necessary for individuals to appear in their peculiar uniforms, have combined to excite much curiosity among all classes, to ascertain the particular tartans and badges they were entitled to wear. This creditable feeling unfortunately led to a result different from what might have been expected: fanciful varieties of tartan and badges were passed off as genuine, and the attempt to set the public right on these matters is likely to meet the objections of many. I am, however, confident, from the respectability of my sources of information, that my statements are the most correct of any hitherto published. In laying them before the public, I claim for myself an acquittal from all prejudice and partiality.

It is obvious that family tartans must be, in a great measure, dependant on individual taste; for, although many are, no doubt, of ancient origin, they were not distinctive of tribes. Several, also, have of late adopted particular tartans, while spurious patterns have been imposed on others, as appropriate to their name. The difficulty of compiling a correct list must be allowed, and without giving all the varieties, it would be unsatisfactory and incomplete. As the author is preparing a work expressly, on tartans and badges, with illustrative plates, an object, for the above reasons, so very desirable, he takes this opportunity of soliciting information or patterns from those noblemen and gentlemen who may feel interested in the subject.

The utility of these lists is apparent. Any one desirous of possessing the tartan of his clan, may, by inspecting the table, inform himself of the exact pattern, and with this knowledge he cannot be deceived in making a purchase.

The advantage of these accurate descriptions to the manufacturer and dealer is obvious. They will, by this guide, be able to provide the true sett of any clan tartan.

The word tartan is derived from the Gaëlic tarstin, or tarsuin, across. A friend has suggested an ingenious etymology of cath-dath, before translated "war colour:" it may very aptly signify the "strife of colours," as if they emulated each other in brilliancy. The French tyretaine, a sort of woollen cloth, is certainly of Gallic origin. John de Meum, the continuator of the Romance of the Rose, mentions scarlet woollen cloth of tyretaine, as forming part of women's dress.

This manufacture appears to be unknown in France. A gentleman who has travelled on the continent in all directions, for some years past, declares he never met with it of native fabrication. In a letter which I lately received, he thus writes; "It is a certain fact that tartan is not manufactured any where, not even in England, I believe, as it should be. A French dealer in such goods assured me that, in France, they had never succeeded."

Stirling, in Scotland, has been long celebrated for its manufacture of this cloth, and a very fine web, especially of scarlet, which the Highlanders could not produce from their native dye-stuffs, was known as "Stirling Tartan." An old weaver at the village of Bannockburn, in the vicinity, has, from his intimate acquaintance with the various patterns, been dubbed "the Lord Lyon, of Tartan heraldry."

It has been predicted, that "the tasteless regularity and vulgar glare" of this manufacture would for ever prevent its adoption by genteel society. How changed the feeling of the present age must be, when it is not only so fashionable in the British islands, but popular throughout the civilized world. A certain writer denounced it as

"most offensive to the eye." Sir Benjamin West, whose opinion is likely to be much more correct, expressed his admiration of the fine effect of the combination of colours.

It is scarcely possible to illustrate the costume of the ancient Celtæ satisfactorily, without a series of figures, for their dresses seem to have varied. It is to be regretted, that no authentic monument, of sufficient antiquity, exists, from which we can ascertain, with certainty, the costume of that people. The Greeks had some representations of them: a picture of the slaughter of the Gauls in Mysia, was to be seen in the tower of the Athenians; and the Pergamenians, who resisted them in one of their invasions, retained their spoils, and had pictures, i. e. sculptures or paintings of their transactions with them.[a] There were also figures of Gauls at Rome, but of a later period; and probably slaves were the models. They were not represented from respect, but shown in attitudes calculated to display their inferiority, and excite contempt.[b]

There are no monuments or statues of the Gauls, it is believed, in existence, of an age anterior to their subjugation by the Romans, a period too recent to illustrate their original costume. The bas-relief that forms the subject of the vignette to Chapter I. represents Gallic and German warriors, from the columns of Trajan and Antoninus. The one at the commencement of this Chapter represents a Celtiberian, from the shield of Scipio, and a Gallic female, from a bas-relief, discovered at Langres.

Those remains that are with every probability attributed to the Celtic inhabitants, are apparently the figures of Gauls, much altered by the influence of their conquerors.

[a] Pausanias, i. 4.

[b] Pliny, xxxv. 4, who relates an anecdote of Crassus, connected with one of those pictures in the Forum.

The most simple dress was the Sagum, fastened in front, or on the shoulder, generally with a brooch; or, when the wearer could find nothing better, a thorn, or bit of wood, answered the purpose.[c] Whittaker says the Britons fastened it on both shoulders. All the Germans wore this, and were naked where it did not reach.[d] It was also used by the Lusitani and Iberi, and continued very long to be a principal part of the dress of those nations.[e] Favin, from the monk of St. Gall, describes the Franks as so pleased with the striped sagum of the Gauls, that they adopted it in preference to their own long mantle.

The sagum, whether of simple skin or coarse woollen, was long worn before it was thought necessary to provide covering for other parts of the body; but the pride of dress, a strong passion among the Celts, and the occupations of war, so favourable to a display of personal decorations, soon lead to the adoption of more complicated attire.

In later ages, the Gauls formed a hood to their sagum or cloak, and it was named Cucullus, or Bardo-cucullus, being worn by soldiers and countrymen. It was chiefly used among the Xantones, and is to this day retained by the peasants in some parts of France.[f] The Gauls imparted their gaudy sagum to the Franks, and the Britons communicated theirs to the Saxons.[g]

The Carac-challamh, according to Macpherson, was a sort of upper garment, which Pinkerton from Dio says was worn close. The surname Caracalla given to the Roman Emperor, was derived from a sort of long Gallic gown. Gallica palla is used by Martial for a man's cassock. From the Gaëlic term for a long coat, the Highlanders call the people of the Low Country, luchd nan cosag.

[c] Tac. de Mor. Germ. [d] Tac. ut sup. [e] Strabo.
[f] Montfaucon's Antiquité Expliquée. [g] Whittaker.

The military dress of the Celtæ was adopted more from ostentation than as a means of defence, for they disregarded armour, and in battle were accustomed to strip off almost their whole attire. Diodorus says they despised death so much, that they fought with only a slight covering around the loins. At the battle of Cannæ, when they fought in this manner, it could not fail to be "strange and terrible to see them naked from the waist."[h] It was the practice of the Asiatic Gauls also to fight naked.[i]

The Irish, according to Solinus, continued the practice of divesting themselves of all covering in battle; and Spenser, who says the mantle was in general their sole garment, observes that it was light, and convenient to throw away. The Scots' Highlanders continued to throw off their jackets and plaids, until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Martin thus describes their method of fighting. "The chief of each tribe, after the arrows are spent, advances within shot, having first laid aside the upper garments and after one general discharge, attack, aut mors cito, aut victoria læta."

The Tunic was at first worn by those only who were very wealthy. It fitted close to the body, was fastened by a belt round the middle, and reached below the thighs. The Belgians had it slit, with sleeves hanging from the shoulders below the middle. Among the Britons it was called Cota, and was worn open before, with sleeves that, in men, reached to the hands,[j] and fell as low as the knee. The tunic of Bondiuca was long and plaited. The Thracians, in Xerxes' army, wore a vest over a robe of various colours.[k] The Scythians, from the sculpture on the arch of Theodosius, dressed in the same manner as the Germans.

[h] Polybius, iii. [i] Livy, xxxviii. [j] Whittaker.
[k] Herodotus, vii. 75.

Those among the Gauls who bore honours, according to Strabo, wore a vest adorned with gold and fine colours; one sort of which were called Cœnas.[l]

A Gallic monument shews a figure dressed in a striped tunic, fastened with a belt, and descending to the knee.[m] Some fragments dug up in 1711, in the choir of the cathedral of Paris, represented six Gauls, all armed, and dressed in long garments with wide sleeves, the sagum appearing also in some. The legs do not in all cases appear to have been naked: sometimes they are seen covered with a sort of trowsers, even when the arms are bare.

A figure found after the great fire of London, had the hair long and flowing, a sagum thrown over the shoulders, a girdle round the middle, and the legs bare.[n]

A fragment of sculpture dug from the ruins of Antonine's wall, and now preserved at Croy, represents three figures, which are in all probability meant for Caledonians. The dress is a strict resemblance to the national garb, and is similar to that of the ancient Celts.[o]

Gildas describes the Scots and Picts of his time as having only a piece of cloth tied round the loins: and on the remarkable obelisk at Forres, in the county of Moray, the Scots are represented in a tunic, fastened round the waist.

The Saxons wore the short tunic, which they derived from the Gauls, who had a rooted aversion to the long mantle. It was so convenient where agility was required, that it was worn by persons of every degree, and was the constant military habit. It usually terminated a little above the knee, and was sometimes open at each side.[p] Eginhart assures us, that Charlemagne wore the short

[l] In Gaëlic, cneas is the waist.
[m] Schœpflin's Alsatia Illustrata.
[n] Pennant.
[o] Archæologia, xxi. p. 456.
[p] Strutt's Hist. of the English Dress.

tunic, strictly adhering to the ancient manners. It reached only to his knees; and Charles the Bold is represented in an ancient MS. with two seigneurs, in the same dress, the legs bare from the knees, except the lacing of the sandals, which are brought to the middle of the calf, and a sagum fastened on the shoulder with a button.

The Breacan-feile, literally the chequered covering, is the original garb of the Highlanders, and forms the chief part of the costume; the other articles, although equally Celtic, and now peculiar to Scotland, being subordinate to this singular remain of a most ancient dress.

The Breacan, in its simple form, is now seldom used. It consisted of a plain piece of tartan, two yards in width by four or six in length. In dressing, this was carefully plaited in the middle, of a breadth suitable to the size of the wearer, and sufficient to extend from one side around his back to the other, leaving as much at each end as would cover the front of the body, overlapping each other. The plaid being thus prepared, was firmly bound round the loins with a leathern belt, in such manner that the lower side fell down to the middle of the knee joint, and then, while there were the foldings behind, the cloth was double before. The upper part was then fastened on the left shoulder with a large brooch or pin, so as to display to the most advantage the tastefulness of the arrangement, the two ends being sometimes suffered to hang down; but that on the right side, which was necessarily the longest, was more usually tucked under the belt, as shown in the figure of the Gordon in the copper plate. In battle, in travelling, and on other occasions, this added much to the commodiousness and grace of the costume.

From this description, it will appear that the Highlander would require some assistance at his toilet if he wished to dress with requisite precision, but it was generally suffi-

cient to spread the breacan on a box, table, over a chair-back, or otherwise, and when abroad he spread it on a sloping bank or rock, and, having the belt under it, laying himself on his side, and, buckling his girdle, the object was accomplished. He was, however, so nice, that he took considerable pains to arrange the folds after it was put on.

The cloth that composed this part of the dress was simply a plaid or piece of tartan. When disposed on the body as above described, it received, in the Low Country, the appropriate appellation of the belted plaid, to distinguish it from the more usual way in which it was worn by the inhabitants, who merely wrapped it over the left shoulder, having small clothes under it.

The belted plaid was, however, by no means unknown as a dress in many parts accounted lowland by the natives of higher districts. It was peculiarly convenient for pastoral occupations, and was the common dress of the shepherds in the inland parts of Aberdeen, Banff, and other counties north of the Grampians, until towards the end of the last century. In the old song of the "Baron of Braikley," written in 1666, his lady tells him to sooth his alarm, on being attacked by the Farquharsons, "they were only herd widdifu's wi' belted plaids."

This primitive garment is preserved in the uniform of the Highland regiments, which is an improvement on the simplicity of the original breacan. Being more convenient, as well as better adapted to the altered state of society, the modern belted plaid is much worn by the present Highlanders. The difference is this, that where, formerly, the lower and upper parts of the garb were attached, they are now separated, the lower part having the folds fixed by sewing, and being often worn without the other appendages. The plaid is fastened round the body and sus-

pended from the shoulder, being, in like manner, made up by the tailor to imitate the ancient form. The loose end is represented by a small triangular piece of cloth suspended from the right side, where the end of the breacan was tucked under the belt. When the Highlander took the field during war, when he was engaged in hunting, tending his flocks in the mountains, or had occasion to travel far, he dressed in the feile-breacan; when he remained at home, he wore the feile-beag, as the most convenient.

The shoulder plaid is worn by the present Highlanders chiefly for ornament, as may be seen in the 72nd regiment, being too narrow to answer the purposes for which it was at first intended. It is, however, susceptible of being thrown into a very becoming drapery.

The Highland garb worn by one who knows how to dress properly in it, is, undoubtedly, one of the most picturesque in the world. Other nations may have an original garment resembling the feile-beag, or kilt; but the belted plaid is indisputably the invention of the Gaël, and bears no resemblance, either in its materials or arrangement, to the habit of any other people.

The ample folds of the tartan, that are always arranged to show the characteristic or predominant stripe, and adjusted with great care, gracefully depending from the shoulder, is a pleasing and elegant drapery, which being of itself, as it were, the entire vestment, presents an *ensemble* equally remote from the extremes of Asiatic and European dresses. It partakes of the easy flow of Oriental costume, suited to the indolence and effeminacy of the inhabitants of the East; and, avoiding the angular formality and stiffness of European attire, combines a great degree both of lightness and elegance.

It is well known that the antiquity of the national garb has been questioned, and the right of the Scots to claim it

as original has been denied. In this respect, it has met no more favour than most of the peculiarities which distinguish this interesting portion of the British empire.

John Pinkerton, an author notorious for his anti-Gaëlic spirit, and whose learning is sullied by a rancour of feeling and heat of temper which he, nevertheless, reprobates in others with intemperate severity, asserts the antiquity of the feile-beag among the Highlanders to be very questionable; that it "is not ancient but singular, and adapted to their savage life—was always unknown among the Welsh and Irish, and that it was a dress of the Saxons, who could not afford breeches, &c."[q] He had before observed, that "breeches were unknown to the Celts, from the beginning to this day!"[r]

Many papers have also appeared at different times in various publications, discussing the question of its antiquity, and generally with a view to prove its late adoption by the Scots' Highlanders. These communications have, in many cases, been answered, sometimes very ably, but in many instances without effect. Appeals to tradition are not very convincing arguments to set against the apparent authority of historical record, but the passages which have been selected to show that the Highlanders did not, until lately, wear the dress to which, from time immemorial, we find them so much attached, do not, certainly, bear the constructions that have been put on them. The point is, however, so undeniably settled, that it is unnecessary to enter into a lengthened refutation of those writers, many of whom are anonymous. Alexander I. is represented on his seal, engraved in Dr. Meyrick's superb work, with the feile-beag and round targe. Fordun, who wrote about 1350, describes the Highlanders as "forma spectabilis, sed amictu

[q] Introd. to the Hist. of Scotland, ii, 73, &c. [r] Ibid. i. 394.

deformis." Major, who flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century, says "a medio crure ad pedem caligas non habent; chlamyde pro veste superiore," &c. Lesly and Buchannan also notice it. Lindsay, of Pitscottie, who wrote in the vulgar tongue, cannot afford matter for the regret which some writers have expressed, that the terms in the Latin authors are vague and unsatisfactory. "The other pairt northerne," says he, "ar full of montaines and verie rud and homelie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called the Reidschankes, or wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt, fachioned after the Irisch manner, going *bair legged to the knie.*"[s]

That the descriptions of this costume are neither very accurate nor very plain, is not much to be wondered at, when its essential difference from other habits is considered. It was certainly difficult for those who were unacquainted with its details to convey a proper idea of it. The old Scots of the Low Country mentioned it as "the Highland weed,"[t] "a light dress," &c.; and, except to those who lived near the hills, or had intercourse with the inhabitants, their peculiarities were little known. Diodorus was unable to describe the singular dress of the Celts, which he thought was formed of cloth, ornamented in flowered work; and Beague, in 1549, from a superficial view of them, describes the Highlanders as going almost naked, and says they wore painted waistcoats![u]

At the present day, although it has recently become so well known, there are many thousands who have a very indefinite idea of this costume; and the ignorance of many who array themselves in tartan as members of societies, or to figure at fancy balls, with the paltry or ill adjusted

[s] Chronicles of Scotland, lxxiv, 4to. ed.

[t] Spalding's Troubles of Scotland, 1645.

[u] History of the Scottish Campaigns, ap. Stewart's Sketches.

trappings of the stage, do not convey the best idea of so picturesque and interesting a costume.

In general, the legs of the ancient Celtæ appear naked from the knee downwards. A figure of a man, represented in Montfaucon's interesting work, has his tunic falling a little below the knees, the limbs having no other covering, and this appears to have been no less a personage than Magister vici sandalarius of Metz. Some of the Germans and Daci, represented on the column of Trajan, appear in a sort of trowsers that are fastened at the ancles, and fit pretty close to the limbs. They reach to the waist, above which the figures are generally naked, except the covering of the sagum that hangs loosely from the shoulders. It is evident, from other remains, that this dress was not uniformly worn, for we see, on the same pillar, &c. the above and other nations indifferently represented with their legs covered and exposed.

The Gauls and Britons, it is asserted, wore the same chequered cloth which composed their upper garments, loosely wrapt around the limbs, and this part of their apparel is described under the term Braccæ, from which the English "breeches" are derived. Polybius says, the Boii and Insubres of Gaul wore the braccæ of their country; but Strabo confines their use to the Belgs. From this garment, which Tacitus calls "a barbarous covering," part of Gaul was called Braccata; the other, having adopted the long gown of the Romans, received the appropriate appellation Togata. Etymologists seem to agree that this name was expressive of the red or chequered appearance of the habit; but that it was similar to modern trowsers, is not so satisfactorily proved. Dr. Mac Pherson, who remarks that saga and braccæ were used indiscriminately by the Romans, says every Highlander in Britain knows that the bracca was an upper garment of diverse colours

Brat, in Gaëlic, is a mantle or covering, and in some parts of Scotland it is used for clothes. The Welsh, brati, tattered, Camden thinks, is derived from the Celtic braccæ; but this does not favour the opinion that they were trowsers. They were used by the Getæ and other Scyths, and Pinkerton asserts that they were always the grand badge of the Goths. "I have no proof," says Strutt, "from the Anglo-Saxon delineations, that the drawers were in use in this country prior to the ninth century, for the tunics of the soldiers are often represented so short, that much of their thighs are exposed to the sight." Polybius seems to prove that this part of Celtic dress was not of the form usually supposed, when he says that the Bolonians and Milanois, in the battle of Telamon, made choice of such as wore braccæ, being at most ease in their dress, to stand the brunt of the action. Wolfgang describes it as a small tunic, that was fastened about the middle, and reached to the knees, a covering for the loins, a little cassock of various colours, covering one's nakedness.[v]

Newte says the name for breeches in Gaëlic is literally "a lock for the posteriors." In Welsh, they are termed lhoudar, and in Cornish, lavrak. The common name in the Highlands for this part of male attire, is briogas, from briog, restraint. The English breeches appear to have retained a name, at first expressive of the colour, or effect of the garment which covered the lower part of the body. The braccæ, or reddish chequered tunic, was worn by all the Celts, and the breacan is still the national dress of their descendants, the term indicating its appearance, like the Welsh, and Armoric, brech, which signifies chequered.

Pelloutier[w] derives the French brayes from the braccæ, and says they were the German hosen. Whittaker says brog,

[v] De mig. Gentium, p. 157, &c. [w] Vol. ii. p. 152.

or brac, red, otherwise battais, or botes, were the untanned buskins of the Gaël and Cumri." Here is the origin of boots, the prototypes of which must have been the red covering which the Celts had for their feet, and which has been since supplied by stockings and shoes.* Diodorus says the Celtiberians wore rough hair greaves about their legs; and the ancient Gauls, according to Cluverius, wore skins with the hair outside, tied on their feet. A similar covering was long worn by the Highlanders and Scots of Ulster, from which they obtained, among their Southern neighbours, the name of red shanks: and although they have, for a considerable time, dropped the use of the untanned hide, which reached towards the calf of the leg, the hose supply their place, and the favorite colour of these has always been red.

The CUARAN reached higher than the BROG, which simply covered the foot, both being fastened with laces of thong. The cuaran was worn in Man, and throughout the whole Highlands, where it is not yet, I believe, entirely disused. Their construction was simple: an oval piece of raw cow or horse's hide was drawn neatly round the foot by thongs of the same material, by means of holes in the margin. The hair was often kept inside for warmth: they were perfectly flexible, and were pierced with small holes, for the purpose of allowing the water received in crossing rivers and morasses to escape. The "veteres Brachæ Britonis pauperis" is sufficiently expressive, if the term was applied to the covering of the feet and legs, as there is so much reason to believe. It is in these days a common saying, to imply the utter uselessness of anything, that it is not worth old shoes; and brogs, when worn out, were certainly good

* The mullei, anciently worn by the kings of Alba, were red, and reached to the middle of the leg. Rubenius de vet. vest.

for nothing. Perhaps the Romans frequently saw the cast-off brachæ of the Gauls, as the English did the cuarans of the Scots when Douglas evacuated his camp in 1327, leaving upwards of 10,000 old ones behind.[y]

Cluverius says the Celtic shoes were formed with a sharp peak, like those worn in the middle ages.[z] Those of the old Highlanders were made, Martin tells us, according to Locke's mode, recommended in his system of education. They were always made right and left.

The Gaël began to improve their manufacture, but, like their ancestors, covering for either feet or legs was quite dispensable. At Killicranky, they had neither. Birt mentions a Laird in the North, whom he once visited, and found a well educated and polite gentleman, who appeared without any other clothing for his lower extremities than what his breacan afforded. When the Highland regiments were embodied, during the French and American wars, hundreds of the men were brought down without either stockings or shoes, articles considered so necessary by those who live in more favoured countries. Shoes, all of one piece and neatly stitched, have been discovered in the bogs of Ireland, where they must have lain for many ages. In the ancient vessel dug from the former bed of the river Rother, in Kent, shoes of a single sole, with no quarter, were found.

About fifty or sixty years ago, brogs were made in the Northern counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, &c., by itinerant shoemakers, at two pence a pair and victuals; the employer finding leather, hemp and rosin. Simple as these were, it is acknowledged that the shoes of modern times are not more durable.[a] An old Highlander, expatiating

[y] Froissart.

[z] Gallicæ were a sort of wooden pattens; Cicero; or Galoches, Montf.

[a] Agricultural Reports.

on the good old times, told me that the last pair he ever had, he wore so long, that, at last, he actually threw them away, when they were still fit for use. Latterly, brogs had a piece of leather on the toes, called friochan, from serving to protect them from the roughness of the heath. This was always cut in Vandyke fashion.

In some parts, this native manufacture is given up, in consequence of the decay of the copse wood, which afforded the bark used in tanning the leather.

STOCKINGS, in Gaëlic, Ossan, are said to have been derived from the Romans, the Celts originally wearing nothing but the untanned buskins. In Montfaucon's splendid work, pl. 196, I find a countryman represented with a chequered covering, resembling tartan hose: and a figure introduced by Wolfgang has a similar appearance.

The sort of stockings now generally worn is represented in the figure of the Gordon, and is the military pattern; but the more ancient resembled that worn by the Stewart, which is copied from the painting of the regent, Murray, formerly at Fonthill Abbey. Various fancy patterns are worn in the Highlands, where they were formerly of the same sett as the plaid. They were not originally knitted, but formed out of the web with a considerable degree of ingenuity; those of the common men in the Highland regiments are still made in this manner.

The GARTERS are now chiefly red, but the native Gaël continue to wear them like their fathers, striped in various colours. Among other presents given at Michaelmas in the Island of Uist, on occasion of annual horse racing, "the women presented the men with a pair of fine garters of divers colours."[b] The Lochaber garters were fringed, and when made of silk and fine wool would cost 2*s*. 6*d*. to 7*s*. Mrs.

[b] Martin's Western Islands, p. 80.

Mac Hardy, of Laggan, in her 100th year, knit a pair, which were presented to the Duke of Gordon by the celebrated Mrs. Grant. They were formerly woven in a particular sort of loom, and some are said to be still manufactured in this way on the banks of Lochow.

There is considerable taste displayed in tying the garter. In the 42nd regiment, it is fastened with a handsome knot: in the 92nd, this ornament is formed like a rose, by the needle, and is attached to the garter, a mode unknown to the genuine Highlanders, who often shewed no tying, but even frequently turned the stocking over the *gartan*. The 78th, or Ross-shire Buffs, leave both ends depending from a tasteful knot. It is reckoned a great insult by the Gaël to be told to tie their garter.

It is here necessary to say something of the ancient habit of the Irish Gaël, which has been described as a "mantle," and often as "trouse." Of this latter garment there appears to be as little known as of the brachæ: it has been attempted to identify both with the modern trowsers. In the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, the Irish wore trouse and mantles, that formed the common dress until the time of Charles I, and continued in partial use even later. Solinus says "they ben single and unseemly of clothing, having foldings instead of mantles and cloaks."[c] In the time of Richard II. Froissart describes them as breechless;[d] and, at Agincourt, Speed says there were 1,600 who were able men, but almost naked. Derrick also speaks of them as wearing no breeches, and describes "a coat of strange device,"

> "His skirts be verie shorte,
> With pleates set thick about,
> And Irish trouzes, &c."

[c] Trevisa's Polychronicon, xxxiv. f. 34. [d] Tome x. 161.

They were "not lightly proud of apparel,"[e] but went commonly naked, according to Spenser, or at least "with naked sides and legs," the mantle being the principal covering, and it was "light to beare," and otherwise an advantageous garment. In summer, the wearer could have it loose: in winter, he could wrap it close: at all times he could use it, for "it was never heavy nor cumbersome."—"It was a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebell, and an apt cloake for a thiefe."[f] My opinion is, that the Irish trouse and mantle were formed like the belted plaid of the Scots' Highlanders, although the materials were not the same as in the breacan. We have seen how conveniently the plaid can be thrown over the shoulders, like a cloak: the Irish, in 1673, are described as being partial to this use of the mantle;[g] nay, Spenser says it was frequently wrapped over their left arm, so closely did it resemble the Highland garb.

The Gaëlic, triubhas, or triughas, the Irish trius, and Welsh trws, signify the vestment which covers the loins, derived from the root trus, gather, truss or tuck up, from which is trusgan, a covering, and also those parts which mankind first conceal. The breacan was always tucked up; but the term which was applicable to it, was given to the trowsers adopted on the prohibition of the ancient dress.

In farther proof that the Irish costume resembled the belted plaid, it may be observed, that Camden says the Scots and Irish resembled each other in dress and arms; and Birt, in describing the Highland dress, observes that "it was thought necessary in Ireland to suppress that habit by act of Parliament," without any dissatisfaction being evinced by the mountaineers in that country. A law passed in the parliament of 1585, by which it was ordained that

[e] Riche, p. 34. [f] Spenser. [g] Present State of Ireland.

none should appear in that assembly with Irish attire, to the great discontent of the members. Tirlogh Lenogh, chief Lord of Ulster, begged the Deputy to allow him to take his chaplain in the trouse along the streets with him, because he was laughed at by everybody in his new dress. I think it is Chaucer who relates a facetious story of these habiliments, which also tends to confirm the opinion of their not resembling modern trowsers."

The Irish seem to have relinquished their ancient garb with less reluctance than might have been expected. The Scots could not be induced to lay it aside, notwithstanding the enactments against it; and so great was their aversion to quit the dress of their fathers, that the law was ingeniously evaded, or openly contemned. General Stewart relates many of the curious expedients which were adopted to comply with the order to wear breeches, and yet retain the loved breacan. The law, however its infringement might be overlooked, was imperative against the Highlander, who could neither, with safety, wear his native cloth, nor carry his proper arms. I have read, in a Scots' newspaper of 1750, the trial of a person for murder, who was eventually acquitted, as the individual he killed wore a tartan dress! In 1782, this oppressive and ineffectual law was modified, inasmuch as the prohibition against costume was repealed. The strong attachment of the Highlanders to the breacan-feile might be illustrated by many anecdotes. It served as a mark of distinction from the people of the machair, or plain land, for whom they had no great affection. An old farmer in the Highlands of Banffshire said he "would never lippen to a bodach that wore the breeks." When the Fencible regiments were ordered to assume breeches, many of the soldiers had never worn such articles of dress, and were consequently, for some time, extremely awkward in dressing, which their displeasure at

being deprived of their wonted habit did not tend to remove. An old man in a certain corps had put on his small clothes as Paddy did his coat, the back part before. His officer and some of his companions were laughing heartily at the mistake, when Donald, nettled at their jeers, observed that he was indeed ignorant of such dress, and never thought he should know anything of the unmanly gear; and, as his indignation waxed high, "the deevil damn the loon," he exclaimed, "that sent them to us!"

The TRIUGHAS, pronounced trius, are pantaloons and stockings, joined, and are either knit like the latter, or, according to the ancient manner, are formed of tartan cloth, nicely fitted to the shape and fringed down the leg. They were sometimes merely striped, and were fastened by a belt around the loins, with a square piece of cloth hanging down before.

It required considerable skill to make the trius. The measure was a stick, in length one cubit, divided into one finger and a half. There is preserved a Gaëlic saying respecting this garment, by which we are given to understand that there were two full nails to the small of the leg, eleven from the haunch to the heel, seven round the band, and three to the breech, a measure inapplicable to few well-made men. The purse and other articles were worn equally with the trius as with the feilebeag.

BOINED, or cappan, was the Celtic name for the covering of the head, the materials of which, among the most ancient Gauls and Britons, were different. We may presume that as the form was not much unlike the present, the same woollen was occasionally adopted. It may be noticed that Giraldus Cambrensis mentions Beaver hats, to which the inhabitants are still partial, having been discovered in Cardiganshire.[h]

[h] Tour in Wales, 1775.

The round bonnet was, however, not only worn by the Britons, but was formerly used over almost all Europe;[1] the shape, at least, resembling that worn by the Scots, although the materials might have been different. It was either to encourage the woollen manufacture, or to repress extravagance in dress, that so many laws have been passed. In England, it was ordained in 1571, that every person above seven years of age should wear, on Sundays and holidays, a cap of wool knit, thickened and dressed in the country by the cappers, under the penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* for every day's neglect; lords, knights, gentlemen of twenty marks' land, such as have borne offices of worship, gentlewomen, ladies and maids being excepted. In 1489, the price of caps was fixed at 2*s.* 8*d.* General Stewart remarks that the Basques wear caps, in materials and form, exactly like the Highlanders. A relation of the author, who entered France with the British army, was surprised to find his native bonnets worn by the peasants inhabiting the Pyrenean mountains.

The figure of Saint Andrew in the sceptre of Scotland, made in the time of James V., wears a broad bonnet. This appears to have been formerly the general head-dress in Scotland, the hat having rapidly come into use. In the agricultural report of Caithness, it is stated that, in 1793, eight boxes of hats only were imported, but in 1803 they amounted to fifty-four.

The ancient head-piece of a full dressed Celtic warrior was a skull-cap; from the minstrel Harry, we find that Wallace wore one within his bonnet.[1]

The bonnet is thickened, by a peculiar process, into a body of considerable density. The colour is commonly

[1] The Irish formerly wore a cap of frieze, called cappeene. The regal cap was called Asion. It is singular to perceive the shape of the modern hat in many ancient figures.

Bonnets of the Highlanders with the Purses of the different Regiments.

dark blue, but it was formerly also black, or grey, and a narrow stripe of red, white, or green was often carried round the lower edge; and occasionally these were pleasingly combined. The chequer work, worn by the military, is now the common ornament, but it does not appear to be very ancient. According to General Stewart, it originated in the time of Montrose's wars, and represents the armorial bearing of the royal family. The Stewart's belt, or fess, is, however, checky argent and azure. The bonnets terminate in a knot, generally of the same colour, but often red, white, or black. They are usually augmented to a small tuft, and are sometimes formed of silk. I have heard it said that some of the officers, in the rebellion of 1745, had them of silver and gold fringe. Beautiful substitutes for the old chequer are now to be had of those who furnish the costume.

The inhabitants of Badenoch, Strathspey, Strathdon, &c. wear the bonnet cocked. The Strathdee men are distinguished by having it flat, as numbers 1, 2, in the plate.

The bonnet is cocked, or made into the desired shape, by means of padding, &c., the broad sort being distended by a small hoop. The Scots' military appear, from old prints, to have worn bonnets; but the present shape is not ancient. Before the black plumes were introduced, bear's skin was used, as in the caps of modern grenadiers. The bonnet was bound with leather, by the common sort; with black ribbon and velvet, by others; and a cockade of the same materials, with a pin, in some cases of silver, but usually formed from the shank bone of a deer's leg, ornamented with the person's crest, motto, and initials, and called dealg, secured the badge and the eagles' feathers.

The Highlanders bestowed much of their usual attention to dress, in making up the bonaid, and took particular care to have a sufficient length of ribbon to wave about

their ears. The officers of the 92nd used, formerly, to have three of black velvet, fixed to the cape of the jacket behind, which had a pretty effect.

This dress is said, perhaps untruly, to be too warm for the head. It has this convenience in wet weather, that the Highlander can take it off and wring out the water.

Kilmarnock is the most noted mart for this article, but "The bonnet makers of Dundee" are celebrated in their national music. The central Highlanders supply themselves in Perth.

The PURSE, sporan, of the Highlanders, like the other parts of their costume, is not only useful, but highly ornamental. Anciently, it was small, and less decorated than it is now seen. That of the unfortunate Lord Lovat is of this description. The tassels, instead of the silver or other adjuncts, were fixed with small strips of leather, neatly and ingeniously interwoven. In many cases, the purse was formed of leather, like a modern reticule, and appears to have been tied in front. It is formed into several distinct pockets, in which the Gaël carried their money, watch, &c., and sometimes also their shot; but, anciently, they bore a similar *wallet*, or builg, at the right side, for the latter, or for a quantity of meal or other provision. This was termed dorlach, and was the knapsack of the Highland soldier; and, small as that of the present military is, among the Gaël, it was still more portable. "Those of the English who visited our camp," says an author quoted by Jamieson, "did gaze with admiration upon those supple fellows, the Highlanders, with their plaids, targets, and dorlachs." The purse admits of much ornament, but, according to my taste, when too large, it hides the beauty of the kilt. The village of Doune, in Perthshire, was, at one time, celebrated for the manufacture of purses, which is now entirely given up.

The first covering which mankind adopt is necessarily loose, and must be fastened round the body. Dress is, also, first assumed as a military costume; the belt which secures the garment serving to sustain the sword, and, from the primitive fashion of raiment, the ancients continued to call putting on armour, begirding.[j]

The baldricks of the Celts received a large share of ornament; and the Highlanders displayed, in the sword and dirk belt, as well as in that which bound the female dress, precious stones, handsome buckles, crests, mottoes, devices, and foliage.

The shot-pouch attached to the belt, which is around the middle, is a late improvement; and the eadharc an foudre, or powder horn, suspended also on the right side by a silver or other chain, was, likewise, recently introduced.

The shoe buckles cannot date higher than their introduction to Scotland. They were only invented about 1680.

In 1673, it was remarked that Irish gentlemen seldom wore bands, or neckcloths. These were unknown to the old Highlanders, who left the neck bare, even when linen shirts became a usual article of dress: sometimes a black ribbon supplied their place.

In addition to what has been above explained, may be added a description of certain articles essential to the dress of ancient and modern times, but more correctly coming under the denomination of ornaments. The Celts, in the most remote ages, as we have seen, evinced their personal vanity by their gaudy and costly ornaments. The Gauls had little or no silver, but plenty of gold, with chains of which they loaded themselves. The massy torques, of pure and beaten gold, which hung around their necks, were a

[j] Pausanias, ix. 17. "Girded" was used in this sense by the Scots.

desirable booty to the avaricious Romans; besides which, they wore bracelets of it about their arms and wrists, and had croslets of gold upon their breasts.[k] Polybius describes their whole army in Hannibal's service, as shining with the splendour of their dress.

A sort of fine golden carcanets, of green-coloured gems, called by the Romans viriæ, were properly Celticæ; and the necklaces of gold, called viriolæ, were distinguished as Celtibericæ.[l] The Britons were equally vain of their persons, and studious to deck themseves in rich attire. Those who could not obtain gold or silver, imitated their more fortunate companions in less valuable materials. Herodian says the Picts wore chains of iron for ornament. In the South, the precious metals were less scarce. Bondiuca wore a massive chain of gold around her neck; and a great number, taken with the noble Caractacus, were borne in procession before him at Rome. The Caledonians, from some discoveries, appear to have worn armlets.[m] These were often of massy gold, in South Britain.

Small jet, and other ornaments, have been found in sepulchres throughout the Highlands; but it is impossible to enumerate the various articles discovered in British interments, every grave, almost, producing something different from what has been before seen.[n]

The dress of the Celtic women was, anciently, little different in form from that of the men. The tunic was bound round the waist, and had seldom any sleeves, their arms being left bare, and their bosoms partly uncovered.

[k] Diodorus. Polybius. [l] Pliny, xxxiii. 3.

[m] A barrow opened at Glenholm, Peeblesshire. Stat. Acct. iv.

[n] Those who are curious to know something of the variety of ornaments among these ingenious people, are referred to Douglas's "Nennia Britannica," Sir R. Hoare's "Ancient Wiltshire," the "Transactions of the Ant. of London and Scotland," "Sibbald's Erud. Ant. Misc." § 2, &c.

They wore a sagum, which they fastened, like the men, with a pin or brooch, as they did other parts of their dress, whence, Pinkerton thinks, may be derived the usual perquisite of females, pin money. Bondiuca wore a tunic of various colours, long and plaited; over which she had a large vest and thick mantle, which was the dress she wore at all times.

A passage in Ossian may allude to the introduction of the Roman toga, adopted by the South Britons: of Moina, daughter of Reuthamor, king of Balclutha, it is said that her dress was not like that worn by the Caledonians, "her robes were from the strangers' land." The females are represented, some centuries since, as wearing sheep skins; but the authority for this is doubtful.

The Irish women wore a mantle similar in form to that used by the men, but longer. Pinkerton, on the authority of Giraldus, says they had little caputii, or hoods of plaid, and linen vests. This mantle seems to be described, in 1673, as "a sort of loose gowns."[o] Women in the Highlands, before marriage, went with the head bare; when they were privileged to cover it, they wore the curch, curaichd, or breid, of linen, which was put over the head and fastened under the chin, falling in a tapering form on the shoulders. A large lock of hair hung down each side of the face to the bosom, the lower end being ornamented with a knot of ribbons. The Welsh still wear a handkerchief, fastened in a somewhat similar manner to the Highlanders.

The TONNAG is a small square of Tartan, or other woollen stuff, worn over the shoulders, in manner of a mantle.

The AIRISAID was a peculiar garment, the same as was worn by Bondiuca, and is mentioned in one of the

[o] Present State of Ireland.

poems of Alexander Mac Donald as having been worn so late as 1740.[p]

The plaid, which was usually white, with a few stripes of black, blue or red, and made of sufficient length to reach from the neck to the ankles, being nicely plaited all round, was fastened about the waist with a belt, and secured on the breast by a large brooch. The belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermixed, giving it the semblance of a chain, and, "at the lowerend was a piece of plate, about eight inches long and three broad, curiously engraven, the end of which was ingeniously adorned with fine stones, or pieces of red coral." This singular ornament and vesture are now unknown.

The chief ornament of the Gaël, both of Albin and Erin, was the brooch for fastening the plaid, on the shoulders of men and on the breasts of women. It was formed of brass, silver or gold, and adorned with precious stones, according to the fancy or means of the wearer.

It was sometimes as large as an ordinary sized platter, and had a smaller one within, for fastening the dress, that weighed between two and three ounces, and was ornamented with a large crystal, or cairngorum, in the centre, with others of a lesser size set around it. The whole was curiously engraved, the figures being the well-known tracery, animals, &c. Martin says, he has seen some silver buckles worth 100 marks.

The one here represented in possession of Mr. Donald Currie, is drawn by a scale half the size of the original. It is of silver, weighing two ozs. twelve dwts., and is a good specimen of the general form and ornaments of the brooch.

[p] Quoted in Mr. Ronald Mac Donald's collection of Gaëlic poems.

A simple form of fibula, found in a barrow near Canterbury, is shewn at the end of this chapter, but the ancient Britons had some, very ingeniously and elaborately constructed. The old Highlanders had also brooches of superior workmanship. That of Bruce, in possession of Mac Dougal, of Lorn, according to the description of a gentleman who has seen it, is silver, of a cup form, with a large cairngorum or topaz in the centre. It was some time in the custody of the Campbells, of Glenlyon, who have another similar relic, of silver, studded with pearls and uncut gems, having underneath a centre bar and two pins, or tongues. Of this brooch Pennant has given an engraving.

The ladies, in those days, wore sleeves of scarlet cloth, like those of the men, laced with gold or silver, and adorned with buttons of plate, set with precious stones. The old Irish adorned themselves with large jewels.

The Cuirtan, or white twilled cloth, made from fine wool, was used exclusively for under petticoats and hose, before the invention of modern stockings, and the industry of young

women was judged of by its fineness and whiteness. A large sort of hose were called Ossan preasach.

A favorite pattern of stuff for female dresses, was crimson and black, in stripes of three or four threads in the woof, the warp being all black; besides which, there was a sort much worn by women and children. It was made party coloured, by tying cords very tight round the hasps of yarn, when undergoing the process of dying; thus, supposing the colour blue, the spots preserved white by the ligatures would appear irregularly throughout the web, forming a motley texture, or cloud-figured pattern.

The upper garment of the females of former ages, throughout the North and West of Scotland, was the full plaid, which usually contained three yards in length and two in breadth, and which, in the Highlands, was often of the cuirtan, or white sort, but, in the Low Country, was of all manner of shewy patterns, either worsted or silk.[q] This garment is worn over the head, and fastened under the chin with a brooch or pin, like the habit of certain nuns, or otherwise only over the shoulders, as the state of the weather may permit. From the change of manners, the use of the plaid is now almost confined to the elderly females, but was formerly worn by the married, whether young or old. An English gentleman, who visited Edinburgh in 1598, says, "the citizens' wives, and women of the country, did wear cloaks made of a coarse cloth, of two or three colours, in checker work, vulgarly called Ploddan."[r]

In Edinburgh, where Birt says it was the undress, and, perhaps, in other places, the ladies formerly denoted their political principles by the manner of wearing their plaids,

[q] Plaids, all of scarlet, were latterly reckoned most genteel.

[r] Arnot's Hist. of Edinburgh; it is still called plaiding, in the Low lands.

those who were Jacobites being thus distinguished. When adjusted with a good air, the plaid was very becoming, the ends either falling as low as the ankle, or being held up in graceful folds; usually by the left arm, to leave the right at liberty, but sometimes by both.

Those who have been in the brae country of Scotland, cannot forget the picturesque effect of the congregation of a kirk on Sunday, loitering in the church yard until the commencement of worship, or moving along the mountain paths, the men in their varied tartans and smartly cocked bonaids, the married women in their gaudy plaids and snow-white *mutches*, or caps, the girls with their auburn hair neatly bound up in the snood.

The shirts of the Highlanders were formerly of woollen, from the use of which rheumatism, and other complaints, were little known. Although linen was not in very general use, it was far from being rare; and the expense to which the Gaël went in their shirts was astonishing. The Lenicroich, or large shirt, worn by persons of rank, was dyed of a saffron colour, and contained twenty-four ells. In Ireland, the natives are said to have required above thirty yards in the composition of this vestment, a fashion so expensive that a law was passed by Henry VIII., by which they were prohibited from putting more than seven yards in it, under a severe penalty.* Great quantities of linen were formerly made to supply the demand for these garments. The Lenicroich was fastened round the middle by a belt, and reached below the knees, being gathered into folds, or pleats, like the breacan, but was not, as its name would seem to imply, worn under other clothing: it was an upper garment. It would appear from Spenser that it was worn by both sexes, the women,

* A description of Ireland, Leyden, 1627, quoted by Gratianus Lucius. Acts of Parliament.

as Riche describes them, wearing deep smock sleeves, like herald maunches. "Linnen shirts," says Campion, "the rich doe weare for wantonnes and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves, playted, thirtie yards being little enough for one of them. They have now," he continues, "left their saffron, and learne to wash their shirts foure or five times in a yeare."[t]

The Celts had, in very early ages, attained celebrity for the perfection to which they carried the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. The Iberians of Tarraconia excelled in its fineness, and those in the army at Cannæ were clad in shirts of linen, worked with purple, after the manner of their country.[u]

The use of linen appears to have been more common among the Gallic and German females, than among the men. Beyond the Rhine, the females thought themselves most grand when dressed in fine linen.[v] The vests of the German ladies were embroidered with purple.[w] Whittaker says, the skiurd, or shirt, was derived from the Romans; but surely these linen vestments were shirts, to all intents and purposes. Lein is the Gaëlic for this part of apparel. By the Cadurci, Caletes, Rutene, Bituriges, Morini, and throughout all Gaul, linen cloth and canvas for sails were manufactured.

The Gauls and Britons pounded the flax, when spun, in a stone mortar with water; and, when woven, it was beaten upon a smooth stone with broad clubs. The more frequently and forcibly, the whiter and softer it became; and, to make the water more efficacious in cleansing, some put into it the roots of wild poppies and other herbs.[x] This mode of bleaching, or whitening linen, by beating it,

[t] Hist. of Ireland, 1571. [u] Polybius, iii. [v] Pliny, xix. 1. [w] Tacitus.
[x] Pliny, xix. xx. 2 and 3.

is still practised in Scotland and Ireland, where it is called beetling, from the wooden implement with which it is struck.

The Scots' women, both single and married, have generally good store of sheets and blankets.

The hardihood of the Celtic race has been before noticed. Their dress inured them to the vicissitudes and severity of the climate. The lusty youth, says Marcellinus, had their limbs hardened with frost and continual exercise.

Pelloutier relates an anecdote which shews how little these people regarded exposure to cold. One morning that the snow lay deep on the ground, one of their kings, who was well clothed, perceiving a man laying down naked, asked if he was not cold? "Is your face cold?" replied he. "No," said the king. "Neither, then," returned the man, "do I feel cold, for I am all face."[y]

The Highlanders, before the subversion of their primitive institutions, were indifferent to the severity of a winter night, resting with content in the open air, amid rain or snow. With their simple breacan they suffered "the most cruel tempest that could blow, in the field, in such sort, that under a wreath of snow they slept sound." The advantage of this vesture was almost incalculable. During rain it could be brought over the head and shoulders; and, while other troops suffered from want of shelter, the Highlander carried in his mantle an ample quantity of warm covering. If three men slept together, they were enabled to spread three folds of warm clothing under, and six above them. The 42nd, 78th, and 79th regiments, who marched through Holland in 1794, when the cold was so severe as to freeze brandy in bottles, suffered incomparably less than other corps who wore plenty of warm apparel.

O'Leary, contrasting the ancient state of his countrymen with their degeneracy, and, alluding to their practice of

[y] Tome ii. c. 7, from Ælian, Var. Hist. vii. 6.

sleeping in the woods, observes that "the uprising combatant had not the ringlets of his hair bound with frost." Breeches formed no part of their ancient costume; and, even in 1712, Dobbs tells us that they went bare-legged most part of the year. From constant exposure to a cold and inconstant climate, the Gaël were inured and indifferent to hardships. They were so habituated to wet, that it had no effect on their constitutions.

However rude and unpolished the ancient Gaël were, according to our ideas who live in an age of so high refinement, they were certainly in possession of many curious and useful arts. Giraldus Cambrensis is convicted of falsehood, in saying that the Irish had no manufactures, it being evident, even from his own testimony, that they had knitters, weavers, dyers, fullers, tailors, &c. If they had not the art of making cloth, where did they procure the braccæ, the phalangium, or sagum, with caputii of various colours, which he says they wore?

While the Highlanders were able to produce cloth of many brilliant and permanent colours, the inhabitants of other countries were less skilful manufacturers. I believe it is Camden who relates, that at the time of the Spanish Armada invasion, the people of England were generally obliged to wear white cloth, because they could not send it to the Low Country to be dyed.

That the Franks and Saxons retained, for a long time, the manufactures of their Celtic ancestors, has been shewn. Charlemagne, adhering to the primitive costume, dressed like the Scots' Highlanders; and, from Windichind's description of a Saxon, he closely resembled a Caledonian.[z]

The costume of the Gaël, like their language, being so different from that of the other inhabitants of the British

[z] Camden's Britannia.

islands, was fondly retained as a national distinction, and a memorial of their independence.

This strong predilection led to repeated enactments. By an act of the fifth of Edward IV. the Irish were ordered to dress like the English, under the pain of a forfeiture of goods; and a similar law was passed in the tenth of Henry VII. These statutes had little effect, for, in the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. another enactment prohibits, under a severe penalty, all persons from shaving above their ears, wearing cromeal on their lips, or glibes on their heads; or from dressing in any shirt, smock, kerchor, bendel, neckerchor, mochet, or linen cap, coloured or dyed with saffron; or to wear in their shirts or smocks more than seven yards of cloth, according to the king's standard.[a]

The Irish, notwithstanding these peremptory statutes, which were strictly enforced by Queen Elizabeth, had not entirely laid aside their ancient garb, in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was, however, confined to the peasantry, the dress of others being assimilated to the prevailing fashion in England, although, in some parts, an adherence to ancient custom was apparent. The costume of the gentry, at the above period, is described as consisting of a leather quilted jacke, long-slieved smocks, half-slieved coats, silken fillets, and riding shoes of costly cordwaine.[b]

The Highlanders were prohibited from carrying their arms by the first parliament of George I., 1716. In 1747, a similar act was passed, with these more oppressive and absurd additions, that "neither man nor boy, except such as should be employed as officers and soldiers, should, on any pretence, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland clothes, viz. the plaid, philibeg, or little kilt, trowse, shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what

[a] Harris's ed. of S. J. Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, ii. 178.

[b] Spenser.

peculiarly belongs to the Highland garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid, or stuff, should be used for great coats or for upper coats." In 1782, the Duke of Montrose brought forward a bill, by which "so much of the above, or any other acts, as restrain the use of the Highland dress, is repealed."

The costume of the Gaël is no longer deemed a mark of disloyalty, and an object of legal prohibition. The harsh and unnecessary law which denounced the use of tartan has been expunged from the statute book; and one of the most popular objects of the Highland Societies of London and Edinburgh, with their various branches, is to cherish and promote an attention to this honourable and manly costume, so appropriate a concomitant to the peculiar language and manners of the Scotish Gaël. The Highland dress is universally admired and respected. On the Continent, where the bravery and moral worth of the Scots is known and appreciated, it is not merely an object of interest: it is a passport to the best society, and a uniform that can rank with the proudest of orders. Our gracious Sovereign, when he visited the capital of his northern dominions, personally fixed it as the court dress of Scotland.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ARMS AND MILITARY ACCOUTREMENTS OF THE CELTS.

THE armour of the Celts may not inappropriately be considered their dress, inasmuch as they seldom laid aside their arms of defence, and never appeared abroad without some part of their military weapons. Respecting these, we have to express the same regret that was occasioned by the subject of the preceding Chapter: there are few monuments of antiquity that can, with certainty, be pronounced Gallic, and of these few, scarcely any display the military attire; the Romans, according to Montfaucon, repressing any desire to represent a subjugated people as independent warriors. It was a particular honour conferred on two Celtic legions, and a tribute to their unparalleled bravery, that statues of them in their arms were set up at Edessa, as before recited.

The Gauls, in general, sought no other defence than what nature supplied, despising artificial means of protecting their bodies;[a] but, when fully accoutred, they had both helmets and shields, breast-plates, and coats of mail, the common use of which was, apparently, confined to the nobles; the vassals, or clients, being unable to procure these articles, or, perhaps, denied the privilege of wearing them. The German foot, in the days of Tacitus, were either naked, or dressed in light cassocks, having few coats of mail, and fewer helmets. The ancient Britons are described as going generally almost naked, disregarding all defensive armour, except the shield.[b]

It does not appear whether the plates of iron with which they covered their necks and bellies,[c] were used as ornaments or for protection. Mela says, the Britons wore the same armour as the Gauls, but, like them, they relied on their dexterity and physical strength rather than on any defensive armour, which they considered as an incumbrance, if not an indication of cowardice. "I wear no armour," said an Earl of Stratherne, at the battle of the Standard, 1138; "yet they who do, will not advance beyond me this day." Giraldus Cambrensis says, the Welsh fought naked, or used very light armour, that it might not impede their exertions, the Irish despising it altogether. At the battle of Telamon, the Gesatæ stript off their dresses and stood before the army naked, carrying their weapons only, that they might not be entangled by the bushes or otherwise obstructed. Polybius describes it as terrible, and astonishing to see those men marching naked, and to observe the motion of their big bodies; conduct, however, more fool-hardy than discreet, for they were dreadfully galled by the Roman archers, and, finally, beaten back with

[a] Diodorus. [b] Herodian, iii. [c] Dio.

dreadful slaughter. On other occasions, we find this practice of denuding themselves noticed. The Gaël retained the same custom until almost the last century, the chief being the first to set the example. However creditable this was to their heroism, and however advantageous it might be in allowing a perfect freedom of action, the want of defensive armour must have, on many occasions, been severely felt. The people of the Low Country were, in this respect, superior to the Highlanders, who, as the song says,

> "Had only got the belted plaid,
> While they were mail-clad men."

Or, as was observed of their scanty covering in a later age,

> "The Highland men are clever men, at handling sword or bow,
> But yet they are ower naked men, to bide the gun, I trow."

However much the Celts may have valued themselves on their contempt for armour, they were not ignorant of its utility, nor deficient in its fabrication. They were dexterous in the manufacture of military weapons, and careful, even to nicety, of their warlike accoutrements. Their greatest delight was in the excellence and beauty of their arms; the ancient Irish appearing, from Solinus, to have been remarkable for this attention to their appointments.

To the Gauls the honour of inventing CHAIN MAIL appears due, which, from being at first made of leather, according to Varro,[d] acquired the name of Lorica. It is called, in Gaëlic, luirich, and was the usual body covering of the Scots and Irish, who wore armour, the plate being almost unknown among them; and it seems to have been worn of considerable length. "The armour wherewith they cover their bodies," says the old Chronicle before quoted, "in time of war, is an iron bonnet and an habergion side

[d] De lingua Latina.

almost even to their heels." Throughout Scotland, the jaque de maill was chiefly worn, according to a French author, who describes it in the sixteenth century; and the person who furnished Holinshed with his account of Scotland seems to prefer it, as he regrets that his countrymen should use heavy armour. The Irish full armed troops, in the seventeenth century, wore shirts of mail that reached to the calf of the leg, and which were sometimes of leather, stuck with iron nails.[d] They also had girdles, that were proof against shot.[e]

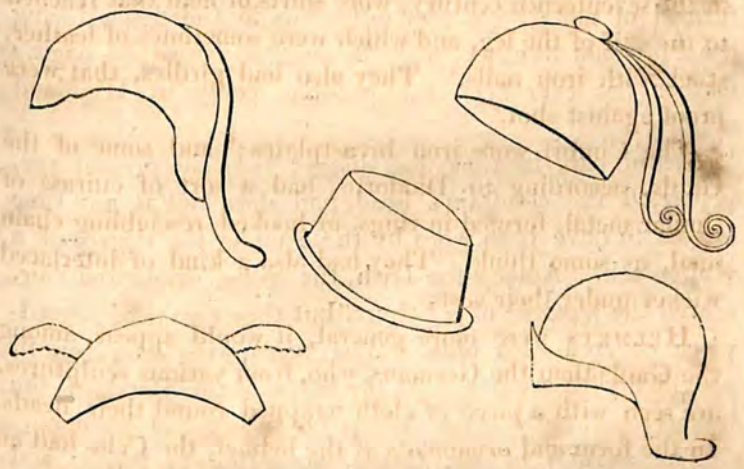
The Cimbri wore iron breastplates;[f] and some of the Gauls, according to Diodorus, had a sort of cuirass of similar metal, formed in rings, or hooked, resembling chain mail, as some think. They had also a kind of interlaced wicker under their vests.

HELMETS were more general, it would appear, among the Gauls than the Germans, who, from various sculptures, are seen with a piece of cloth wrapped round their heads. In the form and ornaments of the helmet, the Celts had an opportunity for indulging their passion for decoration.

Among the Gauls, the Lusitanians, the Celtiberians, and all of the same race, they were made of brass. The former sometimes fixed on them appendages resembling horns, or the wings of Mercury, of the same metal, or embellished them with the figures of birds and beasts. The tribes in Spain and Portugal surmounted them with red plumes, apparently of horses' hair,[g] and the Cimbri had them formed like the jaws and muzzles of various wild beasts, adorning them farther with plumes, like wings, of a prodigious height.[h] Chonodomarius, a celebrated hero, is described as riding about in glittering armour, with a flame-coloured wreath or tassel on his helmet.[i]

[d] Spenser. Ware. [e] Barn. Riche. [f] Plutarch, de Bello Cimb.
[g] Diodorus. [h] Plutarch, ut sup. [i] Amm. Mar. xvi. 10.

In the annexed cut, the two helmets on the right are from the sculptures at the church of Notre Dame, Paris; the upper one on the left is from Dr. Meyrick's work on armour, as is the one in the vignette; the lower is from a figure engraved in Montfaucon's Antiquities; and that in the centre from a German on the column of Antoninus.



The Massagetæ had their helmets and breastplates ornamented with gold. The Thracians, in Xerxes's time, had caps of foxes' skins.[j] It is probable the ancient Caledonians had a covering for the head, of a similar material; little Oscar, in Smith's version of "Cathula," being represented with his little helm of the fur of fawns.

The helmet, clogaid, literally the apex, or ceann-bheart, a headpiece, is mentioned by the oldest bards as not uncommon amongst the Gaël; and from these authorities we find that they were adorned with the feathers of the eagle's wing, perhaps the whole pinion, by which Ossian appears

[j] Herodotus, vii. 75.

to have recognised an Irish chief, it being a mark of distinction, for we find the "grey feather" always worn by a hero. We must make allowance for the privilege of the poetical historians to embellish their recitals by national imagery, every individual figuring in these tales being a hero, if not a *cean-tigh*,[k] and consequently entitled to wear a helmet and its proper crest. Whether helmets formed of metal were very numerous in Caledonia during the Fingalian dynasty, may be doubted; but the eagle's feather has ever been the peculiar badge of Highland nobility.

A skull cap, in times less distant from the present age, protected the chieftain's head, and does not at any time appear to have been worn by those under the degree of a Galloglach. Among the Irish, the glibe, or matted hair, served the purpose of a helmet, but they also used a head-piece covered with hide. The Scots were long but ill provided with armour. At the battle of the Standard, the infantry had nothing for defence but a target of leather.

The SHIELD of the Gauls, according to Strabo and Virgil, was usually long,[l] and the Ligurians carried one of the same form. In sculpture, we perceive the Germans with an oval shaped buckler of ample dimensions. Tacitus admits it was large, but suited to the size of the bearer. From the plates in Cluverius's work, we find it was at first formed of the rough wood, or bark of a tree, sometimes retaining the natural curve, but at other times appearing flat, and nearly the length of the body; in several instances it appears formed of straw, or rushes, something resembling the work of bee-hives.

A small round shield seems, however, to have been

[k] Head of a house, chieftain.

[l] Lib. iv. p. 299, ed. 1707. Æneid, viii., v. 660, &c.

the favorite of the Celtæ; and Schoepflin notices the remains of some discovered in Germany.[m] Several of the Celtiberi used the light shield of the Gauls, and others bore round targets, the size of bucklers;[n] but, at Cannæ, Polybius says they both carried the same kind, which he describes as weak.[o] The Roman shield was, at first, square; but in their wars with the Tyrhenians, a people of Gallic origin, they adopted the round form used by that people.[p] From the spoils that were taken at Thermopylæ, where the Gauls had no other weapons of defence, and deposited in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, Pausanias describes them as similar to the wicker targets of the Persians, called Gerrha.[q] Those Celts called them thureoi, or thyreos; the Welsh still use tarian, and the French retain thiros.[r] In the Gaëlic, tearmun, protection, or defence, is applied to a shield, as well as targaid, from whence comes the Saxon targa and English target; but sgiath is the usual term, and is applied to a buckler from its supposed resemblance to a *wing*, denoted by the same word. The most ancient and most common shields of the Caledonians were, probably, made of interwoven twigs covered with hide.[s] In the poem of Cathula, a sword is said to pass through the folds of a shield; and young Oscar, in Duthona, is represented with one formed of woven reeds.[t] Cæsar describes the Aduatici, who occupied the country about Douay, as having targets of wicker, covered with a tough hide; and Tacitus says those of the Germans were either a sort of basket work, or of board, painted, but seldom bound either with leather or iron,[t] like that of the Romans. The Scots of Ulster, in the time of Spenser, carried long

[m] Alsatia illustrata, i. 67. [n] Diodorus. [o] Lib. ii. 2.
[p] Diodorus, Fragmenta xxiii. [q] Lib. x. 19, 20. [r] Holmes.
[s] Smith's Gallic Ant. [t] Annals, ii.

wicker shields, which were quite unknown among the Southern tribes.[v]

Lucan says some of the Celtiberi used a small shield, called Cetra, which the Romans afterwards adopted. I find that C'etra, in Gaëlic, means something intervening, a term very applicable to a shield. The Lusitani carried shields of a peculiar form, resembling a half moon, and composed of the sinews of animals, so strongly interwoven, that, for lightness and strength, they could not be excelled; being, besides, managed with admirable skill, and whirled about so dexterously that it was scarcely possible to wound the person who bore them.[w] They were called Peltæ, and four are represented on the shield of the Vesontes in the engraving. Among the Etruscans it was round, and not fixed to the arm, but held in the centre by the hand.

The shield of the ancient Caledonians, according to Herodian, was oblong, resembling those assigned by Cluverius to the continental Celts; but numerous discoveries prove that this was not the only form, if it was at all common. Dr. Meyrick, indeed, exhibited lately to the Society of Antiquaries, a curious remain of a shield of this shape, but the original British target was circular. The figure of Britannia on Roman coins is represented with one of this form, and apparently of the dimensions of those which the Highlanders, during their independence, continued to use. The bards invariably speak of them as round, and they appear to have generally resembled those used in the last century, the poetical expressions "dark brown," "shield of thongs," alluding to their covering of leather. The targaid of the Scots' Highlanders was always orbicular, and formed of one or two thin pieces of wood, covered with one or more folds of thick leather, fastened by nu-

[v] View of Ireland, p. 43. [w] Diodorus.

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Leather covered Highland Target.

Steel Target that belonged to the Earl of Mar. 1715.

J. Logan Del.

R. Havell Junr. Sc.

merous nails, usually of brass, but often of iron, and sometimes of silver, according to the circumstances of the party. These nails, or knobs, served to strengthen the targaid, and were rendered highly ornamental to it, for they were sometimes formed into representations of armorial badges, by means of the different metals. The most usual style was an arrangement in concentric circles, which had a pleasing and rich effect. The one represented in the plate is in the armoury of the Tower of London, and measures one foot nine inches in diameter. The one shewn in the vignette, p. 273, is taken from a portrait of a Highland nobleman in the Trius, in the possession of Mr. Donald Currie, Regent street. The circular arrangement of the nails is singular; for a bronze target of nearly the same dimensions, found in Cardiganshire, and represented in Dr. Meyrick's excellent history of that county, exhibits, in relief, sixteen circular lines of knobs, exactly resembling the nails on the shields of the Highlanders. It is difficult to determine whether the metal buckler was an imitation of the wooden, or its model. Like the Scots' target, this curious relick was carried by a single hold, a piece of metal being placed across the boss, or umbo, which afforded room for the hand; and, in numerous cases, those parts have been discovered of iron and brass, when the wooden shield has been long perished. This method of wielding the shield was common to all Northern nations.[x]

The small round target, covered with leather, common to both Scots and Irish, was always retained by the Highlanders, who signalized themselves by its adroit management. So early as the first century, their ancestors excited admiration by the dexterity with which they used it in eluding the missiles of the Roman army.[y] The

[x] Keysler. [y] Vita Agric.

single hold, by which the targe was grasped, enabled the bearer to use it with advantage; and of so much importance was it deemed, that, in the last unfortunate rebellion, it was the first care, after the battle of Preston Pans, to provide a large supply for the army. By receiving the points of the bayonets on their targets, they were able with their swords to assail the enemy, who, by this mode of attack, were almost defenceless. Nor was this all: the shield had often a spike fixed in the centre; and they were accustomed to carry the dirk along with it, and thus were doubly armed. "When within reach of the enemies' bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets, that receive the thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while, at the same time, they raise their sword arm and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with their dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword." These are the words of one who served in the campaign, and was well qualified to give an opinion.[z] This superiority in tactics engaged considerable attention at the time of the rebellion, and various plans were suggested to enable the regular troops to resist the furious onset of the Highlanders.

The targe was usually hung on the left shoulder; and, on a march, it was sometimes borne on the arm: but, except in actual war, it was not carried about the person. It was reckoned the greatest disgrace among the Germans, to quit their shield in battle. He who did so was not permitted to join in sacrifice, or attend the public assemblies; and many who were so unfortunate as to lose this part of their

[z] Mem. of Chev. Johnstone, p. 86.

arms, hanged themselves, to avoid the shame of appearing under a circumstance so disgraceful.[a] The Gaël did not carry this feeling so far, yet the Highlander never willingly parted with his targe,

> "Whose brazen studds and tough bull hide,
> Had death so often dashed aside."[b]

The shield of the Celtic chiefs was frequently of metal, or, like the above, was covered with it. An iron shield, round, and weighing nearly twenty pounds, is mentioned by Pennant as preserved at Dunvegan Castle, in Sky. That of the Earl of Mar, in the engraving, is of steel, ornamented with gold.

The shield was sometimes raised in bosses, called, in Gaëlic, copan, which, from being hollow, could be made to emit a sound, and, by means of these, it served other uses of some importance among the ancient Caledonians. It was either suspended on a tree, or between spears, near the king or commander of an army; and, when at sea, it hung on the mast, "the dismal sign of war," and being struck with a spear, was a signal for assembling the army, or preparing for immediate battle. Hence it was poetically named "the shield of alarms," "the warning boss," &c.

The Celts did every thing in a grave, solemn, and peculiar way. It seems to have been a privilege or duty of the leader of the war "to strike his shield at times," and the warriors appear to have done so occasionally, "when their rage arose," either to keep alive their ardour, or as an indication of their readiness and anxiety for the contest. It was also the practice, at least during the war, of awakening the chiefs by these means. I cannot, however, very well conceive how the sound emitted could be sufficiently loud

[a] Tac. de Mor. Germ. [b] Sir Walter Scott.

to be heard through the whole army, as the expressions of the poets seem to imply, although they had been formed of the most sonorous materials; and such a mode of directing the military operations of the troops appears unnecessary, where there were horns for the express purpose. A people that were able to fabricate the other ingenious parts of their military accoutrements, could certainly form a shield of iron capable of producing a certain tone; but the extraordinary effect that is said to have attended the loud clang of these bucklers, can only be set down as a poetical embellishment.

The shield of Cathmor, a chief of Ireland, as described in the seventh book of Temora, seems too artificial to be reconciled, with satisfaction, to the rude state of the arts at that time. It had seven bosses, each of which was ornamented with a star, representing a constellation,[c] and conveyed by its sound a particular order from the king. I should certainly be inclined to doubt the existence of such a singular article, did we not know, from discoveries, that the bosses were sometimes of silver, or other metal, of very ingenious workmanship, and were it not possible to attempt a rational explanation of this traditional account. Shields of metal were certainly of limited use among those tribes, and were confined to the chief men, giving rise to the expression of "blue-shielded kings," &c. That of Fingal was evidently of this sort; and the following passage will throw considerable light on the manner in which this curious custom was observed. "On two spears hung his shield on high; the gleaming sign of death: that shield which he was wont to strike, by night, before he rushed to war. It was then his warriors knew when the king was to lead in strife; for, never was this buckler heard, till the

[c] The shield of Achilles was, likewise, ornamented with celestial signs.

wrath of Fingal arose." This shield, formed of metal, or covered with a plate of iron, was of a more simple construction than that of Cathmor.

The term "bossy," applied to these bucklers, was expressive of the little convex plates with which they were ornamented. Some were, no doubt, fabricated with superior ingenuity, divided into several of these bosses, or knobs, a blow on any one of which might have been the method by which the commands of the General were conveyed to the army. This is perfectly agreeable to the symbolical and figurative manners of the Celtic race, and the method was less strange than at first appears.

The seven bosses on Cathmor's shield were "the seven voices of the king, which his warriors received from the wind, and marked over all their tribes." Here we are not told that the sound of the particular boss which he struck was so loud as to be heard by all the army, but the different clans were informed by means of the warriors. In the former extract we also find that it was the warriors, i. e. the uasal, or those above the commons; only, who knew when the engagement was to commence.

It may be further observed, that the King of Morven, on one occasion, having struck his shield in the night, many of his host were awakened, and thought it was a signal for them to get under arms, which, from other passages, we are led to believe it must have been; but receiving no further intimation, they again went to sleep. It is impossible to believe that these shields could have sounded so loud as the Bard, by poetical licence, has given us to understand; and if the bosses of Cathmor's had rung with the noise of tenor bells, the army would, nevertheless, have been liable to misunderstand their import: but the king's determination being indicated by his giving a certain number of knocks on a particular boss, his warriors or attendants

instantly retired and conveyed his orders to their respective clans. The shield was the only part of the warrior's armour appropriate for the purpose of announcing the resolutions of the chief; and, as that of Cathmor was different from Fingal's, perhaps each tribe had their peculiar signals.

The king is defender of his people, and the shield, used as the defence of the body, denoted his presence, by being always suspended beside him. It was also used figuratively, to denote this office of defender, in being carried by bards in front of the army after a victory, as we find from a Gaëlic poem which refers to the era of the Caledonian Bard. Those who besought assistance, also presented a shield covered with blood, to denote the death of their friends or defenders.

The use of the shield as a tablet, whereon the glory and renown of heroes and their ancestors were set forth, is not its most ancient appropriation. The origin of coat armour is, more probably, to be traced from the practice of displaying the intentions or determination of hostile parties. If the ancient warriors wore the skins and other parts of the animals they killed, or adorned themselves with the spoils of their vanquished enemies, they did so to inspire terror, by this means of shewing no less their power and valour than their inclination to support their prowess. Nations and individuals have frequently assumed certain symbols and borne them on their shields or ensigns, to demonstrate to others the designs on which they were engaged.

The very meaning of the word herald signifies the champion of an army; and to declare war is still his province. The Bards were the heralds of the Celtæ, and they carried the shields of the chiefs, as the herald of succeeding ages bore the arms of his country or patron.

The marks impressed on the leather covered targaid resembles the intertwining of sprigs, a favourite ornament

among the Celts, being imitated in the hilts of the dirks, and introduced in their brooches and other ornaments. This intricate tracery, which formed, for so many ages, their common pattern, is seen in the rude sculptures of monumental stones, and appears to be derived from the mysterious woven knots of the branches of trees, under which the Druids concealed their knowledge, and of which more shall be said hereafter.

The Gauls, says Diodorus, had often the brazen figures of animals on their shields, which served both for ornament and strength; those of the Cimbri being bright and glittering, adorned with the figures of beasts.[d] The Celtæ were also fond of painting their shields, a practice which they had in most ancient times, and which, being adopted for the purpose of distinction, is clearly the origin of the science of heraldry, about which its professors and antiquaries are so ill agreed.

At Thermopylæ, the Gauls had their shields painted in a certain manner; and the night being so dark as to prevent them from perceiving the figures, they were unable to recognise their own troops, and consequently fell into complete confusion.[e]

When society is rude and unsettled, it is not to be expected that individuals will have distinctive symbols or marks; a whole tribe adopts a general recognizance: but the origin of coat armour is to be traced to a much more remote period than the era of justs and tournaments. Dr. Henry very ingeniously supposes that the introduction of clothing led to the transfer of the figures which characterized nobility, from the body to the shield.[f] This is, probably, in some degree true, for the skin was stained for

[d] Plutarch, vita Marii.

[e] "Nec scutorum signa possent agnoscere." Pausanias, ed. Francofurti, 1583, p. 287.

[f] History of Britain, i. p. 351.

a mark of distinction;[g] but insignia, I apprehend, were first exhibited on standards and shields; and it is probable that the practice was, at first, connected with a religious feeling, the figures being, perhaps, the symbols of gods. In proof of this, we find that the Æstii carried the images of boars, to indicate the worship of the mother of the gods; and by this mark they were recognized and protected among their enemies.[h] The Gauls carried the images from their sacred groves to battle. The princes of Milan, on Hannibal's descent into Italy, took the ensigns of gold from the temple of Minerva, which ensigns they called immoveable, and marched with them against the Romans.[i] That people did themselves retain something of this ancient custom; the eagles and other military ensigns being deposited in a sacellum with the tutelar gods, and, when displayed, they were placed together in the same rank.[j]

The Celtic tribes of Britain had standards, or banners, figuratively termed sunbeams, in the bardic poems, each leading chief being provided with one. That of Fingal, of which Dr. Smith, of Campbelltown, gives a description, was much respected as the king's ensign; but the flag of Diarmid, who led the right wing of the army, seems to have been superior.[k] In the original Gaëlic, the description of those of the seven principal chiefs is very particular, and "so inimitably beautiful, that I cannot imagine," says an intelligent writer, "how Mac Pherson has omitted it in his translation."[l]

The materials of these banners it is not easy to discover. In the poem of "the Death of Fraoich," conjectured to be of almost equal antiquity with Ossian,—bratach sroil, a

[g] Isidore calls that of the Picts an infamous nobility.
[h] Tac. de Mor. Germ. [i] Polybius, lib. ii.
[j] Lipsius Milit. Roman. quoted by Gibbon. [k] Fingal, book iv.
[l] Letter of the Rev. Donald Mac Leod to Dr. Blair.

silken flag, is mentioned, but it is doubtful whether this be not an interpolation. It is probable that the term now applied to silk, formerly meant only something of a very fine texture.

The Caledonian chiefs had hereditary standard bearers, and the office was reckoned one of much honour, to which a salary in land and other perquisites were attached. They continued to enjoy their trust and emoluments, under Sir Donald Mac Donald, of Slate, in the last century, and were retained by some chiefs to a more recent period. The Celtic name, Vergasilanus, is Fear go saelan, the man with the standard. A superstitious importance was, in many cases, attached to particular banners, which may at first have arisen from the religious veneration before alluded to. In the island of Oronsay, near the tomb of Murchard Mac Duffaidh, an abbot, who died 1509, is, or was lately, a long pole fixed in memory of the ensign staff of his family, on the preservation of which depended the fate of the race. Clan na Faiter held three lands in Bracadale, Isle of Skye, for preserving the Braotach-shi of Mac Leod, which, tradition asserted, was only to be produced on three occasions. Pennant, who relates this story, says the third time was to preserve his own life; but we are not informed whether any other effect was to follow this last display. To owe his life to its appearance, was matter for lasting gratitude to the "fairy flag."

The colours of the ancient banners, or their devices, are not distinctly known. "The dark wreaths of Erin's standard,"[m] the blended colours of Mac Druivel's bratach, the beauteous green coloured banner of the King of plains,[n] and the red and green meteors, as others are termed, do not give a very definite idea of their appearance.

[m] Darthula. [n] Dargo.

The banner of Gaul, a companion of Fingal, was called Briachail bhrocaill.

The Celts did not confine their distinguishing badges to their flags; they had, we have seen, long before the commencement of the era of Christianity, depicted them on their shields. The Germans are celebrated for the taste with which these were painted, the various colours being much admired.[o] Tacitus speaks of the Arians, one of their tribes, as having been distinguished by black shields, but he describes them generally as ornamenting them with figures of animals, bears, bulls, wolves, deer, oxen, horses, dogs, and lynxes, being enumerated. The accompanying print, engraved and coloured from the descriptions in the "Notitia Imperii" of Pancirollus, and the "Hieroglyphica" of Pierius, will shew that the Gallic and German auxiliary troops bore various devices on their shields, which were certainly, to all intents and purposes, coat armour; and in a tasteful arrangement of colours and design the British legions did not yield to their continental friends.

In the compositions of the bards we often find allusion made to painted targets. Sometimes they are called red, at other times spotted, varied, or chequered.[p]

It is singular that the term breac, applied to the party coloured shield, should be given to the coat or covering which became the family recognisance of the Gaël!

In the time of Spenser, the Irish also painted their round leathern targets "in rude fashion."

Some of the figures depicted on the Celtic shields bear a close resemblance to those in modern coat armour. We recognise the star, the gyron, the carbuncle, the lozenge, the crescent, the griffin, the pall, the tressure, &c. that appear in forms as rude as in many old works on heraldry.

[o] Tacitus, Seneca, &c. [p] Drs. Mac Queen, Mac Pherson, &c. &c.

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Shields of Gallic, British, German & Celtiberian auxiliary Regiments, or Clans in the Roman service.

J. Logan Del. R. Havell Jun. Sc.

In this branch of the subject the crests or badges of those nations come appropriately under notice. That they bore various figures on their helmets has already been shewn: that they were for tribal and paternal distinction, cannot be doubted. Pausanias informs us that Aristomenes bore an eagle displayed, Agamemnon a lion's head, Menelaus a dragon, &c. The Dacian symbol was also a dragon, and the Scythians, according to Guillim, bore a thunderbolt. The first Gauls who exhibited at Rome as gladiators had a fish for their crest, and were termed mirmillones.[q]

BADGES were borne on the helmet, and displayed on the shield and on the banner; hence modern arms often contain representations of those things anciently carried as marks of distinction. Bruce had three holly branches, which were, no doubt, borne on his ensign, as he bestowed them on Irvine of Drum, who was his banner bearer, and whose posterity still carry them.[r]

The lion, according to Gebelin, was the general badge of the Celtic tribes; the national arms of Scotland are, consequently, of great antiquity. It is true that Aldred describes the animal, at the battle of the Standard, "ad similitudinem Draconis figuratim;" but the rude form might very naturally occasion the mistake, for it is well known that the heraldic figures had formerly extremely little resemblance to the real objects. The science has indeed advanced in the march of improvement, but it is not long since it was otherwise. A member of the college of arms once visited the menagerie in the Tower, where the lions being pointed out to him; "Lions!" he exclaimed, "I have tricked[s] too many, not to know what like they are!" actually believing the animals before him were another species!

[q] Festus.

[r] Sir George Mac Kenzie.

[s] A term applied to arms that are drawn with a pen.

There are many Scots families who bear animals, or parts of them, that are not found in Britain or in Europe. It would be a very unreasonable stretch of conjecture, to fancy that, such as carry figures of creatures, which although long extinct, are known to have once lived here, are of so remote extraction; but may we not be allowed to believe that those charges were derived from the common practice of the ancient Celts? The bearing of hereditary arms, or marks, is usually derived from the Goths; but do those who say so, inquire from whom that people acquired the practice? "In Celtic Scotland," says the laborious author of Caledonia, "no chivalry, nor its attendant arms, were known in 1076."* The chivalrous spirit of the Gaël was always the most striking trait in their character, yet if the science of heraldry, as refined by other nations, was not studied by the primitive race of Scots, it was retained by them in its original simplicity, and its nice distinctions and peculiar regulations were preserved with rigid exactness.

In ancient families not many instances occur where the supporters are strange animals. The Highlanders had less fancy than others for these uncouth defenders of their arms. At tournaments they let their clansmen stand by their shields in naked fierceness or in their native breacan...

The painted shields, the crests, or badges, worn on the head, the standards, and strictly regulated patterns of their garments, were the insignia by which the Celtic warrior was distinguished and his tribe recognised. Of the badges, as worn by the Scotish clans, the following is a list, the correctness of which, as far as it extends, may be relied on. For carrying these marks of distinction, after 1745, some Frasers and Mac Kenzies were subjected to the penalties of the disarming act.

* Vol. i. p. 761.

Badges, or Suiacheantas, of the Highland Clans, with the Gaëlic, English, and botanical names.

Buchannan,—Dearcag Monaidh, — Bilberry,—Vaccinium uliginosum.

Cameron,— Dearcag Fithich, — Crowberry, — Empitium nigrum.

Campbell,—Garbhag ant-sleibh,—Fir-club moss,—Lycopodium selago.[t]

Chisholm,—Raineach,—Fern,—Filix.

Colquhon,—Braoïleag nan con,—Bearberry,—Arbutus uva ursi.

Cummin,—Lus mhic Cuimein,—Cummin wood,—Cuminum.

Drummond, — Lus mhic Righ breatuinn, — Mother of thyme,—Thymis sirpyllum.

Fergusson,—Ròs-gréine,—Little sunflower,—Helian thymum marifolium.

Forbes and Mac Aoidh,[u] — Bealuidh, or Bealaidh,—Broom,—Spartium scorparium.

Fraser,—Iuthar,—Yew,—Taxus baccata.

Grant, Mac Gregor, Mac Kinnon, and Mac Quarie,—Giuthas,—Pine,—Pinus sylvestris.

Gordon,—Iadh shlat, Eitheann,—Ivy,—Hedera helix.

Graham, — Buaidh craobh, na Laibhreas, — Laurel spurge,—Laureola.

Hay,—Uile-ice,—Misletoe,—Viscum album.

Logan and Sinclair,—Conis,—Whin or furze,—Ulex europæus.

Mac Aulay and Mac Farlane,—Muileag,—Cranberry,—Oxycoccus palustris.

[t] Many of this name assert that the Dutch myrtle, Roid, is the proper badge.

[u] Mackay.

Mac Donald, Mac Alastair, and Mac Nab, — Fraoch gorm,—Common heath,—Erica vulgaris.

Mac Dougal,—Fraoch dearg,—Bell heath,—Tetralix.

Mac Kenzie and Mac Lean,—An Cuilfhionn,—Holly,—Ilex aquifolium.

Mac Lachlan,—Faochag, na gille-fuinbrinn,—Lesser periwinkle,—Pervinca minor.

Mac Leod, Gunn, and Ross,—Aiteann,—Juniper,—Juniperis communis.

Mac Naughtan,—Lusan Albanach,—trailing Azalia,—Azalea procumbens.

Mac Niel and Lamont,—Luibheann,—Dryas,—Octopetala.

Mac Pherson, Mac Intosh, Mac Duff, Mac Bean, Shaw, Farquharson, Mac Gillivray, Mac Queen, Clark, Davidson, Elder, and several others, as branches of Clan Chattan,—Lus na'n Craimsheag, nam Braoileag,—Red whortleberry,—Vaccinium vitis idea.[u]

Menzies,—Fraoch nam Meinearach, — Menzie heath,—Menziesia cœrulea.

Munro,—Garbhag an gleann, na crutal 'a mada ruadh,—Common club moss,—Lycopodium clavatum.

Murray and Sutherland,—Bealaidh Chatti,—Butcher's broom,—Ruscus occiliatus.

Ogilvie,—Boglus,—Evergreen alkanet,—Anchusa.

Oliphant,—Luachair,—Bullrush,—Scirpus.

Robertson,—Dluith fraoch,—Fine leaved heath,—Erica cinerea.

Rose,—Ròs-màiri fiadhaich, — Wild rosemary,—Andromeda Media.

[u] To avoid trouble, the Box, from its close resemblance to the above, was occasionally substituted, whence arose a belief that it was the Mac Intosh badge. There is also an opinion among some Seanachies, that the Craobh Aighban, Boxus sempervirens, a tree said to be found in the Highlands, is the true Suiacheantas.

Stewart,—Darach,—Oak,—Quercus robur. They also carry the Thistle, Cuaran, as the national badge.[w]

Urquhart,—Lus-lethn't-samhraidh,—Wallflower, — Cheiranthus.

The three pinion feathers of the native eagle is the distinguishing badge of a Highland chief, two of a chieftain, and one of a gentleman. This mark of nobility was well known in the time of Ossian. Had Prince Charles succeeded in his enterprise of 1745, it was intended to institute a military order of the mountain eagle.

Connected with the means of recognition by badges and symbols, WAR CRIES, or watch words, were in use by the Gaël, with whom they were fixed, and peculiar to districts and tribes. The remarkable shouting and chaunting of these nations in making their attacks is referable to this custom, the particular exclamation forming the Welsh Ubub, the Irish Ullulu,[x] and the Caledonian Cathgairm, or Slogan. A band of warriors often used their own name as a war shout. One of the Cimbric nations in the invasion of Italy, in this manner advanced, singing Ambrones! Ambrones! and the Scots at the battle of the Standard, 1138, made a great shout, crying Albani! Albani![y]

The names of leaders seem well adapted for incentives to battle or rallying words for combatants. They were used simply by some as a Douglas! a Douglas! a Gordon! a Gordon! or they were accompanied by appellations, as Hainault the valiant! Milan the Noble! &c. on the continent. To some again were added expressions of incite-

[w] The oak not being an evergreen, the Highlanders look on it as an emblem of the fate of the royal house. The badge of the Pictish kingdom was Rudh, Rue, which is seen joined with the thistle in the collar of the Order.

[x] The Greek Eleleu and the scriptural Alleluia! [y] Hoveden.

ment, as Avant Darnly, by the Dukes of Lennox. Rallying cries often referred to the armorial badge, as with the Counts of Flanders, who gave au Lion. Some, from piety, called on the name of their patron saints, and many, from the cause of strife, made use of particular sayings.

Among the Scots' cries are those of Buchannan "Clareinnis," an Island in Lochlomond.—Campbell, "Ben Cruachan, a noted mountain, in Argyle,—Farquharson "Cairn na cuimhne," the cairn of remembrance, in Strathdee.—Fraser, anciently "Morfhaich," afterwards "Castle Downie," the family seat.—Grant, "Craig Elachaidh," the rock of alarm, of which there are two in Strathspey. The division of this tribe, called Clan Chirin, have properly "Craig Ravoch," to which they add "stand sure," the others saying "stand fast."—Mac Donald, "Fraoch eilan," the Heathy isle.[y]—Mac Farlane "Loch Sloidh," the Lake of the Host.—Mac Gregor, Ard choille,"[z] the high wood.—Mac Intosh, "Loch-moy," a lake near the seat of the chief, in Inverness-shire.—Mackenzie, "Tulach ard," a mountain near castle Donnan, the ancient strong hold of the clan.—Mac Pherson, "Creag dhubh chloinn Chatain."[a] "Munro, Casteal Fulis na theinn," Foulis castle in danger. Forbes, anciently Loanach, a hill in Strathdon. Clan Rannald, "A dh' aindeoin cotheireadh e!" in spite of all opposition.

Border clans, and others now reckoned Lowland, had also their slogans. The Maxwells cried, I bid ye bide ward law, i. e. the assemblage of the clan on the hill of meeting; and the Logans rallied to the shout of Lesterrick low. The Scots of Buccleuch had Ale muir.—The Johnstone's, Light thieves all.—The Mercers of Aldie, the gryt pool.—Hepburn, bide me fair.—Seton, set on.—Cranston, a

[y] Craig an Fhithich, the Raven's rock, is claimed as the peculiar slogan of those who call themselves Mac Donel.

[z] Ard Challich, Chalmers. [a] Seal of the present chief.

Henwoodie, &c. Certain districts had also their appropriate places of rendezvous, the name of which sounded an immediate alarm. The people of Glen-livet, in Banffshire, had Bochail, a well known hill. Where Celtic institutions prevailed, these names became the fixed war cry, which was not confined to the period of mustering, but continued as the mode of recognition and intimation of danger, during war.

The French had anciently "Monte joye, St. Denis," which was changed to "Tue! Tue!" The kings of Scotland used, as the general exclamation, "St. Andrew." The ancient Irish had "Farrah! Farrah!" which is stated to be farrach, violence, but is rather "Faire!" be watchful. It was customary with the Gaël of that country to add the interjection bua, or abu, to their particular cries, which is said to be equivalent to business or cause, as Butler abu, the cause of Butler. This interpretation is made in the same ignorance of Gaëlic which is seen in that of the motto of the Earls of Kildare, now of the Duke of Leinster, so often denounced by the Anglo Irish parliament as the watchword of rebellion. Crom-aboo is translated, I burn: it is Cuiram-buaidh, I shall obtain the victory. The O'Neals had Lamh dearg, abu, the red hand, victorious!—O'Briens, Mac Carthys and Fitz Maurices, Lamh-laider abu, the strong hand of victory.—O'Carrol, Shuat-abu, stir to victory.—O'Sullivan, Fustina stelli abu, (Fostadh steille,) stoutly securing victory.—Clanriccard, (the Bourks) Galriagh-abu, victory to the red Englishman, from the second Earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgo, called the red. Earls of Desmond Shannet-abu.—Mac Gilpatrick, Gearlaider-abu, cut strong to victory.—Mac Swein, Battalia-abu, the noble staff, victorious, from the battle-axe which they bear in their arms.—The Knight of Kerry, Farreboy-abu! the yellow-haired men—victory!

Fleming, Teine-ar aghein-abu, fire to the bomb,—victory! —Hiffernan, Ceart na suas abu, right and victory from above.—Hussey, Cordereagh-abu, hand in hand to victory.

War cries were anciently used by none but princes or commanders. They were proclaimed at tournaments by heralds, and became the mottoes of families. One of the oldest in record is that of Gaul Mac Morn, "First to come and last to go."

The effect of the ancient rallying shout is still strong in the north of Scotland. The exclamation of Cairn na cuimne! is yet sufficient to collect the Dee side men to the assistance of their friends in any brawl at a market or otherwise. A friend informed me that, passing through the braes of Moray, he suddenly heard the shout Craig elachie, stand fast! and could perceive many people hastening towards a certain point. On inquiry he found that a fair was held at a little distance in which the Grants had got involved in a quarrel with their neighbours.

The most savage of human beings are found able to fabricate rude implements wherewith to procure game for subsistence, or as a means of protection against the attacks of ferocious animals. From the necessity also of resisting the aggressions of neighbouring tribes, much attention is paid to the formation of instruments of destruction and defence. As mankind advance in civilization, their ingenuity in all manufactures, both necessary and ornamental, increase; but nations become sooner proficient in the construction of implements of war than of those used for any other purpose. In the armies of nations that have not emerged from the first stages of society, each individual is obliged to provide himself with such weapons as he can most readily procure, and, on emergencies, other articles than regular arms are converted into instruments of destruction.

A simple, ready, and sometimes an effective mode of assailing an enemy, is by means of stones thrown by hand, a method of fighting much practised by the Celtic nations, who had numerous bodies of troops so armed. Many figures of these people in Roman sculpture show the warriors carrying a number of stones in the loose folds of their ample cloaks, and Ammianus bears record to their violent and destructive assaults.[b] From Tacitus it appears the Germans sometimes used leaden balls as missiles.[c] Round stones in shape like an egg, and some larger and of the same globular form, have been found in France, which it is supposed were used for throwing by the early inhabitants.[d]

The Irish, until comparatively recent times, continued this primitive mode of fighting, at which Cambrensis says they were extremely dexterous.

Besides projecting stones by hand, SLINGS were also used. The inhabitants of the Balearic isles, who were of Celtic origin, were the most famous slingers of antiquity, and are believed to have acquired their name from this celebrity. They carried three slings, one being tied round the head, another fastened about the middle, and one held in the hand. They were excellent marksmen, and could throw stones of three pounds weight to a great distance.[e] The sling represented in the figures of ancient sculpture is plaited in the middle, where it is considerably thicker than at each end. Cliar, now applied to a brave man, is an ancient Gaëlic term for a sling,[f] but Tabhal is the word now used. At the battle of Largs, in 1263, the Scots commenced a furious attack with stones and darts. The British tribes used a

[b] Montfaucon, tom. iv. pl. 52, &c. To drop stones on besiegers has been often practised. [c] Annals, v. [d] Montfaucon.
[e] Diod. Sic. v. [f] Urnigh Ossian, a poem.

sling with a wooden shaft, like those used afterwards by the Saxons, which was called crann tabhuil, the staff-sling. —The bas relief at the commencement of Chapter first, composed from figures on Trajan's column, shews the Celtic throwers of stones, both by hand and sling.

A CLUB is another simple implement of destruction. In cases of necessity, combatants will avail themselves of any thing that can be converted into arms, and, at all times, those who can find nothing better will provide themselves with a good stick. Three or four hundred of the king's army went to the battle of Edgehill with nothing but a cudgel.[g] When the Highlanders joined Prince Charles, when they fought at Gladsmuir and even afterwards, many had no better weapon, but

> "With heavy cudgels of good oak,
> They vowed to kill at every stroke."

The Gauls, long after their subjugation, continued to fight with this weapon, and on various remains of Roman architecture, figures of these nations are seen wielding with vigorous arms, heavy knotted cudgels.[h] The Æstii, one of their tribes, had scarcely any arms of iron, but chiefly fought with clubs, which were hardened by being burned.[i] From discoveries made in France they are found to have been short and thick, and sometimes pointed with metal. The club of the old Britons here represented was four edged, of massy thickness at the end, and was called Cat.[j] The Jedworth staff, pointed with iron, which Major describes, was a serviceable weapon to the hardy inhabitants of that border town.[k]

[g] Clarendon, ii. p. 40, ed. Oxford.

[h] Montfaucon, pl. 55, 56, &c. A club is by no means a contemptible weapon. We even read of desperate fighting with teeth and nails! Beloe's Herodotus, iv. 153.

[i] Tacitus Annals. [j] Dr. Meyrick. [k] Lib. v. c. 3.

It would appear from Tacitus, that the Catti, besides their other arms, carried certain iron instruments.

The arms of the ancient Gauls, and of the British tribes, have been found deposited in the grave with the mouldering relics of their original owner, or dug from the site of the Celtic strong holds. They are often discovered to reward the laborious researches of the zealous antiquary, and are not unfrequently turned up by the plough or spade of the industrious husbandman.

The first implements of untutored man are formed of stone, a material which is often moulded into suitable form with the nicest care.

The simple, and sometimes rude, but frequently ingeniously fabricated weapons of the aboriginal Celt, are found in all those countries which he inhabited; and along with those formed of stone are occasionally discovered articles of bone, in some cases perforated, and evidently adapted for purposes of war.[1]

A singular implement frequently met with throughout Britain and Ireland, has attracted the particular attention of antiquaries, who have been at some loss to conceive the use for which these mysterious articles were intended. They are not exclusively formed of stone, but are also

[1] Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire; Archæologia, &c.

found of brass, or mixed metal; the presumption, however must be, that the former are most ancient, although the manufacture may not have been given up after the working of metal became generally practised. The name of CELTS, by which they are known, has itself excited many conjectures. It is supposed to have been adopted by antiquaries for want of any more appropriate term; but is, probably, according to Whitaker, the British word Celt, which signifies a flint stone. They are generally about five inches long and one or more broad, are sometimes very plain, and in many instances are formed with much ingenuity. The most simple are merely tapered towards each end, but others are varied in shape, and nicely perforated for the insertion of a handle, which was perhaps secured by small wedges.

It has been imagined that Celts were used in the Druidic sacrifices; and it has been observed from Livy, that even the Romans, in early ages, killed their victims with flint stones.[m]

It has also been said that they were used as implements of carpentry, which is not only probable, but some positive proof of the fact has been discovered. A writer in the "Archæologia," on this subject, has accompanied his remarks with representations of a Celt fixed in the handle when employed for the different uses of an axe, a chisel, and an adze.[n] Their appropriation for domestic purposes is perfectly consistent with their use in battle. With them the natives must have cut down the trees of the forest, on the trunks of which the marks are often discernible, for no other description of axe has ever been discovered. In the vignette at the end of Chapter III, some of these imple-

[m] Lib. xxiv. Ap. the Rev. J. Dow in Trans. of the Ant. of Scotland, ii. 199.

[n] Vol. xix.

1.2.3. Stone Hammers. 4 Flint Arrow heads. 5 Stone Axe or Celt.

J. Lagan Del.t

R. Havell Jun.r Sculp.

ments are represented, in the form in which they were evidently used by the ancient wood-hewers and carpenters. The one on the left side shews the method by which the most simple form, both in stone and metal, was used. Besides the ligature, a slight ridge may be observed on some, apparently to prevent their being forced out of their proper position.

In the more improved manufacture of metal Celts, which are common to North and South Britain, they are formed with a hollow for the insertion of the handle, and, in several instances, part of the wood has been found remaining in the socket.° From this circumstance, and their peculiar formation, it has been inferred that the shaft and blade were in a line, making, as it were, a bludgeon ;° but was it not possible for the Celtic warrior to find boughs of trees bent naturally to a right angle, or that could be readily made so and adopted as an efficient handle ?

The lower figure on the dexter side of the trophy, forming the vignette to this Chapter, represents the method in which it is believed to have been fixed when used as an axe. The metal Celts are usually provided with a ring, as represented in the engraving, supposed to have been for the purpose of suspending them by the side or over the shoulder. They are often found with a mould, or case, into which they exactly fit, which was either adopted for their preservation, the mould in which they were formed, or itself adapted for service. It has, however, been observed that all brazen instruments, from their value, were kept in cases of wood lined with cloth. Celts have also, not unfrequently, a ring attached, with sometimes a bit of jet or other ornament appended.

° Whitaker's Hist. of Manchester, &c.

In some tumuli that were opened near the Cree, in the parish of Monigaff, where, according to tradition, the Picts and Romans had fought a severe battle, several stone Celts were found. One was in the form of a hatchet, and resembled a pavior's hammer in the back part, like the one represented in the engraving, and another was broad and flat, both having an aperture for the shaft.[p] It may be observed that not only are many of these implements formed at one end like the above, but hammers are often found buried with the primitive inhabitants of these Islands. The Gauls consigned similar articles to the graves of their relatives, and in several sculptures they are represented carrying them in their hands.[q]

There is no very positive authority to believe that the axe was a weapon in common use, either by the Continental or British Celts, but Marcellinus speaks of it as carried by the former, and in 538 the Franks used it. By the Welsh, when formed of flint, it was called Bwyelt-arv. In a Teutonic romance of the eighth century, it is said that after the javelins had been thrown, "they thrust together resounding stone axes." The word used for these is staim bort, from stein, a stone, and barte, an axe, and it is thought to be the only name by which they are recorded.[r]

Hengist, the Saxon, calls a sword an axe.[s] Among the Danes, who used it double, it was called bye, and when fixed to a long staff, it is said to have acquired the name of all bard, or cleave all.

This weapon, when used by the Highlanders, was known as the Lochaber axe, called, in Gaëlic, tuagh-chatha. The

[p] Stat. Acc. vii. 60, xvi. 227, xviii. 186, &c. See also Gordon's Itin. Septentrionale. Archæologia, xvii. 120, &c.

[q] See the plate.

[r] A reprint by Dr. Jamieson in a work on Northern Antiquities. Edinb. Journal of Science, Nov. 1824.

[s] Jamieson's Remarks on the Pictish language.

heavy armed soldier in Scotland and Ireland carried it, until very lately, from whom it was called the Galloglach axe. It was usually mounted on a staff about five feet long, but another sort was wielded with one hand, the thumb being extended along the shaft, and so forcibly that no mail could resist it. In the Tower of London were formerly shewn some weapons called Lochaber axes; but since the recent excellent arrangements of Dr. Meyrick, it appears they were English arms, no real Lochaber axes being in the armoury. They are, indeed, unaccountably rare. One, in this gentleman's admirable collection, is of a ruder form than the one here represented.

The figure on the right is from the axes formerly borne by the town guard of Edinburgh, that in the middle from those of old Aberdeen, and the other is an ancient form of the Highland tuagh.

Two soldiers of the Black watch fought with this weapon before King George, so late as 1743.

The SPEAR of the Gauls was called Saunia. It is described as being pointed with iron, a cubit or more in length, and little less than two hands in breadth. This weapon was sometimes straight, and sometimes barbed or bent backwards, so that it not only cut the flesh, but broke it, tearing and rending it in a shocking manner.[u]

Tacitus says the German spear was very long, but was not often used, a light missile javelin, with a short, narrow, but sharp head, being preferred, of which the horsemen carried one, and the infantry two or more. With these they fought either hand to hand, or farther apart, for they were accustomed to throw them to an incredible distance, with the surest aim. The Celtiberians had their javelines formed of iron, with broad barbed points. The Lusitani, who used the same weapon, are celebrated for the vigour and precision with which they threw it.[u]

The Celtic race appear to have been remarkably dexterous in the management of their airm thilgidh, or missiles. The Romans were excessively annoyed by these weapons, which were sometimes showered upon them in volleys as thick as a flight of arrows. The vigorous arms of the Gauls propelled their lances with so much force, as often to pierce through the shield and transfix them in the body. Cæsar mentions an instance of the strength with which they were discharged, where a Roman soldier had one driven fairly through both thighs!

A Gallic spear, or dart, was called Lankia,[v] from which the old Gaëlic, lann, a pike, and the English lance are derived. The gæsum, gaison, or gesa, was another missile weapon of the Gauls;[w] and, in the language of their Scotish

[u] Diodorus. [v] Ibid. Lancea, a Spanish lance. [w] Cæsar, iii. c. 4.

descendants, the word gais is still retained. Servius informs us that strong and valiant men, from carrying this sort of spear, were called Gæsi. Among the Highlanders, gaisgeach signifies a valiant man, or hero, and guasdewr, among the Cumri of Wales, has the same meaning. Livy describes the Gauls as armed with two gæsi. The Celtic heroes of Caledonia also carried two.[x]

The gath, or cath, of the Gaël signifies a dart or lance. The cateia of the Gauls was a sort of weapon which commentators do not appear to have understood. Cath-tei, in Gaëlic, is literally a fiery dart, with which Dr. Mac Pherson remarks that Cuchullin is said to have unfortunately killed his friend Ferda. It was "kindled into a devouring flame by the strength of wind," i. e. the blacksmith's bellows, the terms gath builg and craosach dhearg, being of the same import as the jaculum fervefactum of Cæsar,[y] which were thrown against the Romans in an attack on the camp of Cicero. The old Highlanders used a sort of barbed dart, which they called guain.[z]

The Caledonians and Meatæ had a short spear, provided with a hollow ball of brass, like an apple, attached to the end of the shaft, which contained pebbles, or bits of metal, that were intended, by their rattling noise, to frighten the horses and alarm the riders.[a] In 1547, a Frenchman describes the Scots' soldiers as carrying a singular weapon, for the same purpose. "Tenoient à la main un epouvantail ridicule pour affrayer les chevaux. C'etoit une sonette attaché á un baton de trois aunes de long, avec quoi ils faisoient grand bruit." Dr. Mac Pherson spoke with some old Highlanders, who had, in their youth, seen spears, having a ball at the end, resembling the boss of a shield,

[x] Cuchullin was so armed; and Naos, "looked on his two spears." &c.

[y] Dissertations, p. 153.

[z] Kennedy, in the H. Society's Rep. on Ossian's Poems, p. 125.

[a] Dio. Nicæus.

and termed cnapstarra. Those weapons were called triniframma, and were the framea of the Germans, mentioned by Tacitus.

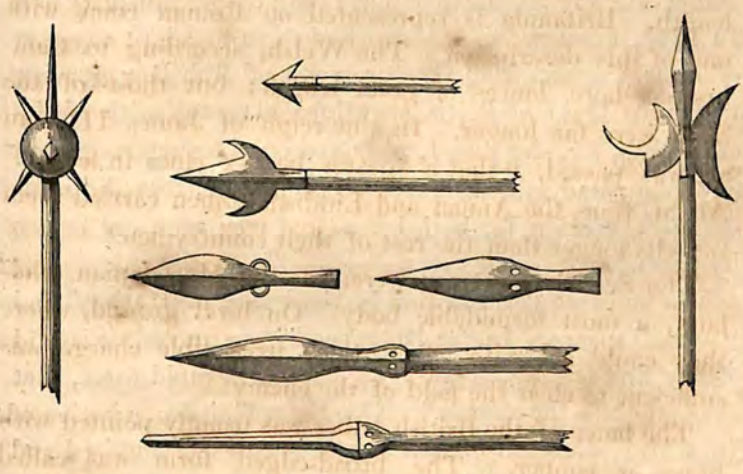
The Celts generally carried the spear of a considerable length. Britannia is represented on Roman coins with one of this description. The Welsh, according to Cambrensis, bore lances of great length; but those of the Scots were far longer. In the reign of James III., an act was passed, "that a' speares be sex elnes in length." At this time, the Annan and Liddisdale men carried them two ells longer than the rest of their countrymen.[b]

The Scotish spearmen were, like the Macedonian phalanx, a most formidable body. On level ground, where they could act with effect, their irresistible charge was sufficient to clear the field of the enemy.

The lance of the British tribes was usually pointed with brass or copper. The broad-edged form was called Llavnawr, and is that which the Irish term the Lagean, from which the people of Leinster are said to have acquired the name of Lagenians. The spear is called shleag by the Gaël, and it had formerly a thong attached, to enable them to recover it when thrown at the enemy. Gisarming, from the French gisarme, was formerly applied by the Scots to the spear. The short dart, apparently about three and a half feet long, used by the Gauls in hunting, was called venabulum, which lexicographers translate a boar's spear. The Celtic spears were of various forms, and used for different purposes. Gildas describes the Caledonians as pulling the Roman soldiers off the prætentures with a sort of long hooked spears. The two lateral weapons in the annexed cut are seen in a representation of Porevith, the German God of Spoil.[c] The upper figure is the venabulum. The second is the saunia, according to Cluverius;

[b] Sir W. Scott. [c] Montfaucon, &c.

Lenoir, more agreeable to its description, has the barbs turned back. The two others are from discoveries in Britain,[d] the next is the Llavnawr, and the last the gwaefon of the Welsh.



In the vignette at the commencement of this chapter, beginning at the weapon next to the celt, or axe, all are taken from the plates in the work of that laborious antiquary, Wolfgang, already quoted. He says, the first singular weapon was carried by the Gallic horsemen in Illyricum; the one above it is the gæsum; the next is hasta uncata gothica, and the one close to the helmet he calls gesa. The spear on the left side of the helmet he assigns to the Quadi, and that next to it is given as in use by both Gauls and Goths. The Tragula Gallica is the next, and a murderous weapon borne by the Vandals follows. The trident he denominates the Gallic fork.

The Caledonians of former ages paid great attention to the exercise of the spear, or the thrusting of the blade.[e]

[d] Archæologia.

[e] Lann-saich, a pike-man, literally a blade thruster.

We hear of Conloch, who was so famous for handling the javelin, that it is yet said of a good marksman, "he is unerring as the arm of Conloch." The halbert carried by the sergeants in infantry regiments, is derived from the Scots; but the Highlanders have long discontinued its use. In 1745, when necessity compelled them to adopt any sort of arms, Captain Mac Gregor, a son of Rob Roy, serving under the Duke of Perth, armed his company with blades of scythes, &c. sharpened, and fixed on poles seven or eight feet long; and, rude as these weapons were, they did murderous execution, for both horses and men were cut in two by them.

We find frequent mention by the bards, of "ashen" and "aspen" spears. In the Romance before quoted, it is said "they first let ashen spears fly with such rapid force, that they stuck in the shields."[f] One Peter Gairden, a native of Brae Mar, who died in 1775, at the age of one hundred and thirty-two, recollected having been sent into the woods to cut straight poles for spear shafts.

A Gallic dart was long the only reward for valour among the Romans. A soldier that had wounded an enemy received one of these weapons from the consul.[g]

The SWORD appears to have been a common weapon of the Celtic nations. The Gallo-Grecians, who were attacked by Manlius, had no other arms.[h] It was of great length and breadth, double-edged, with a very obtuse point. Diodorus says the swords of the Gauls were as big as the saunians or spears of other nations. Being without a point, they were adapted for slashing with the edges, and not for thrusting, its name being expressive of its form and use. The Celts called their sword spatha, or spada, which, in Gaëlic, signifies to beat down or flatten. This word is not

[f] See p. 304. [g] Polybius. [h] Livy, xxxviii. 21.

now used for a sword, but spad is applied to any implement, or broad piece of metal, and is the origin of the English spade, for which it is the only name. The Highlanders sometimes call a sword lann, literally a blade.[1] Claidheamh is the proper name, and claoidh is to vanquish. Varro derives the Roman gladius from clades, slaughter: the affinity of the Gaëlic and Latin is apparent.

The British Celts used the same long, blunt, two-edged sword. They have been discovered in barrows, and a figure dug up after the fire of London carried one; but the Northern tribes seem to have been most partial to it. The usual length appears to be about two feet six inches, but they are often much shorter. A common form of this weapon among the Britons of the South, was with a swell or widening in the middle. The Irish also had them both curved and straight.

The ancient British and Irish swords were generally composed of brass, bronze, or copper; but it has been erroneously supposed that all arms found of these materials are Celtic, from a belief that the use of iron was known to the Romans only. The first metal employed by mankind in the formation of arms, is brass, copper, or a mixture of these with lead. These seem to have been the favorite metals of the Celts, who had an art of rendering them perfectly hard. Considerable quantities of brass and copper were imported by the Britons; but iron mines were worked to a certain extent before the arrival of

[1] The Dacian sword was formed like a sabre, the curve reversed. The Saxons and Danes called the sword sæx, and it resembled a scythe, which in Saxony is still denominated sais.

the Romans. From its scarcity, and the difficulty of working this metal, it was very valuable; but the natives certainly fabricated arms of it. Herodian attests this fact; and at Lochenlour, in Glenturret, are to be seen the ruins of houses, and heaps of ashes, the apparent remains of a Caledonian iron-work. The people believe it to be the place where the swords of the Fingalians were made, and old poems mention this glen as the residence of the workmen.

The Gallic sword is represented as very insufficiently tempered, being bent and twisted after every stroke, so that it was sometimes necessary for the warriors to set their feet on the blade, in order to make it straight.[j] The Celtiberians were, however, famous for the manner in which they tempered their swords. This excellence was produced by burying the iron, and allowing it to remain in the earth until the light and impure parts were consumed, when the remainder, thus improved, was fit for the hands of the armourer. Weapons fabricated from iron prepared in this manner, cut so keenly, that neither shield, helmet nor bone, could resist them.[k] Those people are said to have carried two swords, which enabled "the horsemen, when they had routed the enemy, to alight, and fight with the foot to admiration." This seems to shew that one was a dagger or pugio, adapted for thrusting or cutting, which Polybius tells us they used in the battle of Cannæ. It was common to the Lusitani, and its excellence recommended it to Roman adoption.[l] Some of the Germans also had short swords; but they in general appear to have preferred the missive javelin.

By the ancient Welsh laws, a sword, a spear, and a bow

[j] Livy. This is, perhaps, exaggerated; the swords of the Romans were sometimes bent by the resistance of the enemies' armour. Amm. Mar. [k] Diodorus. [l] Gibbon.

with twelve arrows, were the three legal weapons. If the former had a bright hilt, its price was twenty-four pence; if brittle-edged, sixteen pence, and if it was round hilted it cost but twelve pence. Dr. Meyrick supposes the hilts were formed of horn. In several parts of France, round flint stones, pierced in the centre, are found, and are believed by antiquaries to have been sword pommels.

Boemus remarks that the old Gauls, like the Irish, used swords a full hand broad. It has been shewn that the original name for these weapons was descriptive of their breadth, which exceeded that of spear heads, and was particularly noticed by the ancients. A strong man among the Caledonians was indicated by the size of his sword. Fraoch, a celebrated hero, is represented as carrying one as wide as the plank of a ship.

This unwieldy weapon was not adapted for a close encounter; but the athletic swordsman could, at a requisite distance, strike with tremendous force; he therefore stept back, if practicable, when aiming a blow. Polybius observes, that the length of the Gallic swords, and the bluntness of their points, proved very disadvantageous when they contended with the Romans at Cannæ and Telamon. It was the long swords of the brave Caledonians which rendered them unable to oppose the Tungrian and Batavian cohorts, who fought with the short Roman gladius in the battle of the Grampians. The Franks also, who long retained the sword of their ancestors, were frequently encumbered by its length.[m] The excessive dimensions of this weapon of the Highlanders have been reduced, but the term *broad* sword is still an appropriate designation. It has ever been a favorite weapon of the Scots, and for 1800 years, since the desperate conflict at the Grampian

[m] Luitprand.

Hill, its exercise has been sedulously practised, and its dexterous management in the field of strife has been the means of ensuring many a brilliant victory. The Scotish swordsmen were only inferior to the phalanx of spearmen. The one represented in p. 320 is in my possession, and is a specimen of the old manufacture; it is marked on each side with four busts, wearing eastern crowns, which may have an allusion to the arms of Fraser, by one of which clan it is known to have been used at Culloden. It is two feet eight inches long in the blade, and one inch and a quarter wide. One in the Tower armoury is three feet long, and one inch and three quarters broad.

William the Lion, who came to the throne in 1166, ordained the sword, dagger, and knife, to be the proper arms of his subjects. The troops of Sir William Wallace were chiefly armed with the claidheamh-more, to which the Gaël have always been so partial. A French author, in 1547, describes the Scots as armed with a sword that was "very large and marvellously cutting."

The sword of the Gauls and Britons is believed to have been suspended across the right thigh by a chain of iron or brass; a position that must have been very awkward and inconvenient. The description may be misunderstood.[n] We find figures of these nations, representing the belt, or chain, passing over the right shoulder, as now worn; and Procopius describes the Roman auxiliaries, among whom the Celts were no inconsiderable number, as carrying their swords on the left side. It was customary with the Highlanders, to hold the sword in their hands until they had occasion to use them, when they threw down the scabbard.

The scabbards seem to have been anciently formed of wood, remains of which have sometimes been found adher-

[n] "In dextro femore oblique dependentes." Diodorus.

ing to the sword, deposited in the grave of the Celtic warrior. Those of leather, which Henry the Minstrel calls the hose, were marked with various figures, in manner of the targets, &c. before described.

Sir Richard Hoare does not find that the sword of the ancient Briton was provided with a guard; but, from Dr. Smith's description, it appears to have been known to the old Caledonians. The form of the basket hilt now usually worn, is not perhaps of great antiquity. It was only seen among the better sort, for those of the common people were rude and clumsy. The sword which belonged to Gordon of Bucky, who assisted at the slaughter of the "bonnie Earl of Murray," is supposed to be the most ancient specimen of this sort: but there is reason to believe that the basket hilt is of much greater antiquity, and that the Gaël had attained considerable perfection in the manufacture. Isla, one of the Hebudæ, was celebrated for the fabrication of sword hilts.

The Gaël latterly received a great part of their arms from the Continent, and the Spanish blades were particularly esteemed. Their broadswords were always well tempered, but they appear to have been unable to produce such excellent weapons as those fabricated abroad. Andrea Ferara, who is believed to have lived in Banff, following with much success the manufacture of broadswords, is accused of obstinately resisting all attempts to obtain possession of his peculiar mode of tempering blades. This story is current among the Highlanders, but it has been questioned whether Andrea was ever in Scotland. This point may be left unsettled without much regret. Whether manufactured in Scotland, or imported, the Ferara broadswords were highly esteemed, and by no means uncommon in the olden time.

The boys of the Highlanders were trained, from an early

age, to cudgel playing, that they might become expert at the broadsword exercise. Their whole time is said to have been so occupied; and, besides training at home, there was a sort of gymnasium in Badenoch, to which the youth resorted. Many anecdotes might be recited, to shew the expertness of the Gaël in handling the sword. John Campbell, a soldier in the Black Watch, killed nine men with it at Fontenoy, and, on attacking the tenth, his left arm was unfortunately carried off by a cannon ball. Donald Mac Leod, who was so remarkable for his robust frame and longevity, having entered the service of King William, and enjoyed, for many years, a pension from George III., relates many brilliant anecdotes of his countrymen's prowess. He fought various single combats, both at home and abroad. On one occasion, he cut off part of the calf of a German's leg, and wounded him in the sword arm, to shew that he had it in his power to take his life. In the rebellion of 1715, he accepted a challenge from a Captain Mac Donald, a celebrated fencer in the Earl of Mar's service, who had openly defied the whole royal army. In this trial of skill, Mac Leod cut off the other's purse, and asked him if he wanted anything else taken off? on which Mac Donald gave up the contest, acknowledging his inferiority, and left the victor his purse as a trophy. The Earl, who was himself an excellent swordsman and kept a band of clever fellows about him, sent ten guineas to Mac Leod; and his general, Argyle, added as much. One of the Robertsons, of Lude, cut off the two buttons of his antagonist's shirt collar, as a friendly hint that his head was likely to follow. Gillies Mac Bane, at Culloden, perceiving the Campbells attacking the Highland army, by means of the breach which they had made in an old wall, opposed them as they entered the gap, and, ere he fell, overpowered by the number of his enemies, his claymore had laid four-

teen of them dead at his feet. At Preston Pans, where the devoted rebels obtained their first victory, the slain all fell by the sword. On this occasion, prodigies of valour were performed. A boy about fourteen years of age was presented to the Prince, as one who had killed, or brought to the ground, no fewer than fourteen!

Polyænus says that the Gauls always struck at the head with their swords. It was by slashing at the heads of the horses that the Highlanders were able so effectually to repulse and defeat the most numerous bodies of cavalry. They also struck at the heads of the infantry; and, to guard against the consequence of this mode of attack, it was represented as necessary for all to wear a skull cap, or horse shoe under their hat. The onset of the Highlanders, in the language of Johnstone, was "so terrible that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it; and if the swords of the Highlanders once came in contact with them, their defeat was inevitable." Mac Pherson, of Cluny, not aware that the cavalry of the royal army at Falkirk wore head pieces of iron, declared, with astonishment, that he never met with skulls so hard as those of the Dragoons, for he had struck at them until he was tired, and was scarce able to break one!

The management of the broadsword, or single stick, which it closely resembles, as now taught, may be comprehended in thirty-one lessons. The old Highland exercise was not less remarkable for simplicity and elegance, than utility. By seven cuts, oblique, horizontal, and diagonal, and one guard, in which the sword is held vibrating, as a pendulum, ready to turn aside the thrusts of an enemy, the adversary was assailed and the person effectually protected. The salute of the Celtic swordsman was peculiarly graceful. The importance of this exercise was evinced by enabling undisciplined troops to make head against numerous armies,

and even defeat skilful veterans. Its utility in the present day, to officers of both army and navy, is apparent, and many occasions may arise to shew the advantage of knowing properly how to use a stick. With this simple weapon, a skilful player can defend himself with ease from the simultaneous attacks of three or four, and put to defiance the efforts of the most renowned pugilists. It is to be regretted that this desirable accomplishment and healthy exercise is now so little attended to.

A favorite amusement of the Highlanders was the sword dance, which was performed with a great degree of grace and agility, being usually introduced as a finale to a ball, in manner of the "bob at the bolster" of the Low lands, and the country bumpkin of England. The diversions of most ancient nations were of a military cast. Olaus Magnus describes a dance of this sort among the people of the North. It was also practised by the Saxons, even after the Conquest, the dancers being called joculators, as if they were fighting in jest, from which arose the old Scots word, jungleurs, and the modern English jugglers. A sort of sword dance was usual in some parts of England, at no remote period, but it was performed in a manner different from the Scots.

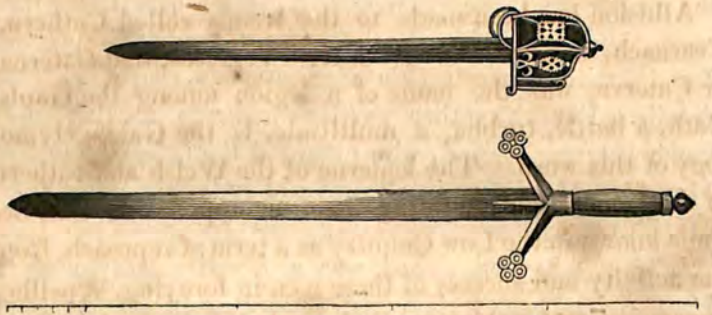
Mac Pherson, "the Rob Roy of the North," who was executed at Banff, 16th Nov. 1700, and whose history Sir Walter Scott intended to interweave in a romance, embellishing and amplifying its romantic incidents by his fertile imagination, possessed a trusty claymore of Ferara's mafacture. Before he left the prison, anxious to commit this weapon to the hands of one qualified to use it, he bequeathed it to Provost Scott, who left it to his son-in-law, Provost Mark. This gentleman fulfilled the wish of poor Mac Pherson, by giving it to Mr. John Turner, his near relation, a good swordsman; after whose death, it remained

in possession of his widow for some time: but an English gentleman expressing a desire to obtain a broadsword, Captain Robertson applied to Mrs. Turner for that of Mac Pherson, which was readily presented, and thus, about fifty years since, is said to have terminated the history of the genuine blade, which was never afterwards heard of. A long two-handed sword is preserved at Duff house, the seat of the Earl of Fife, in the neighbourhood of Banff, which belonged to this celebrated Kern. There is also his target, on which is a deep indentation from a bullet. The intention of Sir Walter, to found one of his amusing productions on the events of Mac Pherson's life, and the popularity of his memory in the Northern counties, induced the author to make particular inquiries concerning these relics, and the noble Earl, in whose armoury they now remain, with characteristic condescension, supplied these details. For the other particulars he is indebted to a much esteemed friend, who procured the information from Mrs. Mac Hardy, an intelligent old lady, the daughter of Mr. Turner.

The two-handed sword was a favorite weapon of the Highlanders, and it is usually represented on the tombstones of the old Celtic heroes. Dr. Meyrick says the Spathæ were two-handed, and were called Cheddyv-hir-deuddwrn by the Britons, and Dolaimghin by the Irish. The opinion of this writer is always deserving of high respect. On the present occasion, he confesses that none of them have ever, to his knowledge, been discovered.

It is not probable that the swords of the Caledonians who opposed Agricola, although long and broad, were wielded with both hands, for their left was sufficiently occupied in the dexterous management of their little shield. A two-handed sword preserved at Talisker, in the Isle of Sky, measures three feet seven inches in length. The

one here represented is three feet six inches long in the blade, eleven inches in the hilt, and two and one third inches broad. It is in possession of Mr. Donald Mac Pherson, of Pimlico, and belonged to his ancestor, Mac Pherson of Crathy, parish of Laggan, Inverness-shire. It it said to have been six hundred years in the family; and is represented by tradition as the identical weapon borne by one of the victorious combatants at the battle of Perth. The last time it was used in war was in 1594, when the Earls of Huntly and Errol, with inferior numbers, encountered and overthrew the Earl of Argyle at the burn of Altacholihan, in Glenlivat. Some years ago, the remains of silk and silver lace were attached to the hilt.



In those times, when the Highlanders went armed both "to kirk and market," the gentlemen took their gille-more, or sword-bearer, along with them. Even the clergymen armed themselves, in compliance with the national custom. The Rev. Donald Mac Leod, of Sky, who lived about forty years ago, remembered his great-grand-father, who was also a clergyman, going to church with his two-handed sword by his side; and his servant, who walked behind, with his bow and case of arrows. A Gaëlic song alludes to this practice, where it is said:

"Tha claidheamh air Join san't searmoin."
John is girt with his sword at sermon.

A vivid picture of a contention with the two-handed sword is given in the description of the judicial combat between the clans Chattan and Dhai, on the north inch of Perth, from the pen of Sir Walter Scott, who has repeated the subject in "Anne of Geierstein." In the British Museum is a black letter work entitled, "La noble Science des jouers de Spee," printed at Danvers, in 1538, which contains instructions for the exercise of this sword. It is embellished with twenty-two wood-cuts, representing the different guards and positions. From these, it appears the weapon was often rested with the point on the ground, the hands not being always confined to the hilt or handle, but occasionally grasped the blade itself.

Allusion has been made to the troops called Cathern,[a] Cearnach, or Kern. We learn from Vegetius, that Caterna, or Caterva, was the name of a legion among the Gauls. Cath, a battle, turbha, a multitude, is the Gaëlic etymology of this word. The kaderne of the Welsh and cathern of the Gaël, signify fighting men, an appellation that became known in the Low Country as a term of reproach, from the activity and success of these men in foraying, repelling aggression, and making reprisals on their Saxon neighbours. By the dexterity of their military exploits, the young men were obliged to prove themselves worthy the honour of being enrolled in this company of national guards.

The KERN were light armed, and excelled in the desultory manner of fighting, characteristic of the Gaël; hence they acquired the appellation Cathern na choille, the fighting men of the woods. The Kern, whom Spenser reckoned the proper Irish military, although accounted inferior to the Galloglach, and stigmatised as "the dross and scum of the country," were, from their renown, best known to

[a] See page 147.

the English, who proposed, in 1626, to raise bands of them at 4d. per day, with pipers at 8d. They had spears, swords, and dirks, but bows and arrows were their usual arms. Derrick describes those of 1581 in the following lines.

"With skulles upon their poules,
Insteade of civil cappes,
With speares in hand and sword by sides,
To beare off afterclappes;
With jackettes long and large,
Which shroud simplicitie:
Though spiteful dartes which they do beare
Importe iniquitie.
Their shirtes be verie straunge,
Not reaching paste the thigh,
With pleates on pleates they pleated are,
As thicke as pleates may lye.
Whose slieves hang trailing doune,
Almoste unto the shoe,
And with a mantle commonlie
The Irish Karne doe goe.
And some amongst the reste,
Do use another weede:
A coat I ween of strange device,
Which fancie first did breed.
His skirtes be verie shorte,
With pleates set thicke about,
And Irish trouzes more, to put
Their straunge protractours out.
Like as their weedes be straunge,
And monstrous to beholde;
So do their manners far surpasse
Them all a thousande folde.
For they are termed wilde,
Wood Karne they have to name;
And mervaile not, though straunge it be,
For they deserve the same," &c.

The GALLOGLACH, or GALLOGLAS, were heavy armed: they were the tallest and strongest men of a clan, and were allowed a portion of meat double that of the other troops.

They were armed with swords, helmets, and mail, and carried a Lochaber axe, which is said to have been peculiar to them, as the dirk was to the Kern. Considerable dependance was placed on these soldiers, who were usually drawn up against cavalry. An old writer on Irish history says they were neither good against horse nor pikes. They were, however, in high estimation, and every individual of this class was specified in official returns. In "the rysing out of the Iryshrie and others to the general hosting, 1579," is Mac Donell, a Gallweglasse. They received certain pay, which appears to have been that called bonaughts. In an Irish MS., 1555, I find Galloglas money mentioned. From the name given to their pay, they were sometimes called bonaughti. Bonaugh-bur, was free quarter, and payments either of money or victuals: bonaugh-beg, was a commutation for a settled quantity of money or provisions. These exactions were levied on heritable lands under the term sorehon, which comprehended other customary mails. Every plough land was also burdened with kern-tee, a payment rendered for the support of the Cearnach. A Galloglach usually attended the chief, whose duty was to prevent his master from being taken by surprise, and to rescue him from any sudden danger.

The ancient Celts carried a dagger, suspended from a chain, or belt, fastened round the body. Herodotus describes the Scyths and Thracians as carrying this weapon,[p] which was sharp and pointed, being used for close fighting, and among the Celtiberians it measured a span in length.[q]

Dio describes the Caledonians, in the time of the Emperor Severus, as armed with daggers; and a stone preserved in the Glasgow Museum, dug from the wall of Antoninus, represents two figures, believed to be Celts, with this

[p] Lib. vii. c. 60-75.

[q] Diodorus.

weapon hanging before them. The heroes of Morven and of Innisfail carried this essential part of the armour of the Scots and Irish.[r] Among the ancient Britons, the dagger, like the sword, was usually of brass, or bronze, and is often found in barrows in various parts of England. The Saxons had it longer than the Britons. It was called by the Welsh Cylleth hirion, or a very long knife; had a horn handle with brass ornaments, and a small hollow at the tip of the handle, for the thumb.[s] By means of this weapon, the Saxons perpetrated the treacherous and cruel massacre of the unsuspecting Britons, at their temple on Salisbury plain. A very neat little dagger, with an ivory handle nicely carved, found near Cillgerran, in Wales, may have belonged to a Cambrian Chief. A little silver sword, about two and a half inches long, was given by Cullen, King of Scotland, to Gillespic More. Certain lands in Perthshire were held by this gift, and it was produced after 1743.[t]

The dirk of the Highlanders is called bidag, or biodag, the bidawg of the Welsh, in the latter syllable of which we perceive the root of the English dagger.

The BIDAG is adapted for fighting at close quarters, where the sword cannot be used, or where the party may, either in the heat of action, or otherwise, have been deprived of it. When dexterously wielded by a strong and resolute Highlander, this was a most terrific weapon. It was not held in the same way as the sword, but in a reverse position, pointing towards the elbow, and the manner in which it was carried allowed it to be drawn with perfect facility. The belt which fastened the plaid, became the baldrick by which this trusty blade was secured. It was placed on the right side, and instead of hanging loosely as it is now generally worn, the belt was either slipped through a

[r] Ossian, &c. [s] Hist. of Cardiganshire. [t] Pinkerton.

hook affixed to the sheath, sometimes steady, and frequently moveable on a swivel, or a long hook, or slide, answered the same purpose. It was thus firmly attached to the thigh, and was consequently so judiciously suspended, that it could be drawn in an instant, and this was of some importance in the event of a sudden assault, or so close a contention as would prevent a free use of the sword. If it hung loosely, it would have incommoded the wearer, and could not be so promptly at command, but, carried as it was, the hand could instinctively be laid on the hilt.

From the peculiar manner in which this weapon was managed, the most dreadful execution was sometimes performed with it. When the arm was raised, the dirk was pointed to the assailant in front: when lowered, it menaced the foe behind, and, by turning the wrist either way, the enemy was kept at bay, or, if he escaped destruction, received the most deadly wounds.

Incredible feats have been achieved by the dirk, which was a convenient instrument to execute revenge. A violent feud had long subsisted between the Leslies and the Leiths, powerful names in Aberdeen and the adjoining counties, and one of the former having been invited, on some occasion, to the castle of a nobleman not concerned in the quarrel, he found himself in the company of a number of his enemies, the Leiths. Waiting his opportunity, he joined the dance, and, suddenly drawing his dirk, he struck right and left, as he rushed through the hall, and, leaping from the window, effected his escape. To commemorate this bold and bloody exploit the tune of "Lesly amo' the Leiths" was composed. Another early instance of its use as an instrument of secret revenge, occurs in Ossian; as Carthon was binding Clessamor, the latter, perceiving the foe's uncovered side, "drew the dagger of his fathers."[u]

[u] Carthon.

With this destructive instrument, at a later period, Forbes, the Laird of Brux, who was out in 1745, made "sun and moon shine thro'" the enemy, as he expressed himself to a friend of mine.

The Highlanders were always partial to "the cold steel." The sword and dirk were well adapted to their fierce and overwhelming hand to hand mode of attack, and their dexterity in the use of both, ensured the success of many a foray, and was the means of their gaining many a victory. There were always, even in late times, many of the "Highlandmen," who had no other arms, and from the many desperate conflicts in which they signalized themselves with "sword an' dirk into their han'; wi whilk they were na slaw," these came to be spoken of as almost the only weapons they possessed. At the battle of Killicrankie, fought in 1689, it is said of King William's troops, that

> "The dirk an' d'our, made their last hour,
> An' prov'd their final fa', man."

I have remarked that more broadswords than dirks are to be now seen, and the reason, I apprehend, is, that the latter were appropriated for domestic purposes, when it was no longer necessary or lawful to carry them as arms. Pennant observed the dirk frequently converted into a very useful knife, by the butchers of Inverness, being, like Hudibras's dagger,

> "a serviceable dudgeon,
> Either for fighting or for drudging."

I have seen them employed for various uses. Some chopped up moss fir as well as if they had never been intended for more honourable service, whilst others served in the humble but useful office of a "kail gully." Few are to be met with that do not appear to have been in requisition for other purposes than originally intended. The Highlander

has often, by its means, provided himself with a "clear the lawing," i. e. a good cudgel. In attacking the Duke of Cumberland's army, at Clifton, the rebels cut through the hedges with their bidag, and it was one of the complaints on the disarming act, that they should be deprived of their dirks, with which they cut down wood, &c. Before the invention of knives they supplied their place at table. Possidonius says the Gauls applied them to this purpose. The Highlanders used them in quartering deer and other game. The dirk was the favorite "brand" of the Gaël. The dagger of Ogar was "the weapon which he loved." The most solemn oath was swearing on it, and so convenient an implement was it found, that it was almost part of their weed. I recollect one John M'Bean, who fought at Culloden, and was among the M'Intoshes who made so furious an irruption on the king's army. This old man, who died at the age of 101, and was able to walk abroad some days before his death, never thought himself dressed without his belt and a small knife. A gentleman of my acquaintance had shewn his pistols to an old man at Skellater, in Strathdon, who, in reply, drew his dirk, and, regarding it with a look of satisfaction, observed, "my pistol will no miss fire." The Highlanders thought it hard when the act for disarming them was passed, that they should not be permitted to carry this useful and convenient article, and were loth, when the gun, the sword, and the pistols were laid aside, to part with the dirk. It was a shrewd remark of one Steuart, in Avenside, who, coming down to the lower part of Strathdon, was reminded that it was now against the law to carry his dirk; "No," replied he, indignantly, "it is not against the law, but the law is against it!" The soldiers of the Black Watch, or 42nd, were allowed to carry these weapons, if they chose, and as the corps long continued to be composed of Duinuasals, or the better class of

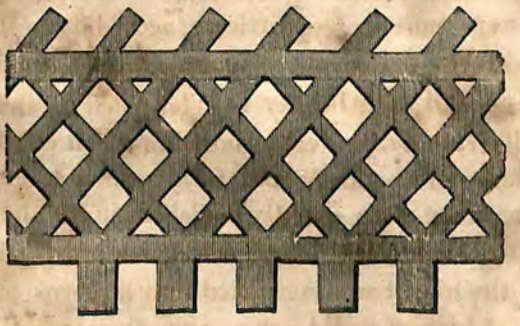
Highlanders, who could provide themselves with them, they were worn until lately. Grose says that, in 1747, most of the privates had both dirks and targets.

The dirk of the Highlander is an instrument peculiar to himself, and his ingenuity has rendered it extremely useful. The sheath has been contrived to contain his knife and fork, an improvement that has taken place at a remote period, as he could not well carve his venison without these implements. Their insertion in the sheath admits a considerable degree of ornament, and certainly adds to the splendour of a full dressed Highlander. Some of the more modern dirks have the top hollowed into a little cavity that is appropriated for snuff, but the convenience of this is not apparent. The length of the blade is determined by the length of the arm; when grasped in the hand, the point ought to reach to the elbow; it is double edged for some inches, and the old ones have usually the figure of a greyhound traced by aquafortis, near the hilt.

The hilt of this instrument is often very curious, and is formed of a piece of wood, usually of alder, ingeniously figured. It is said these were generally the work of shepherds, performed by means of a common penknife. The carving represents a sort of tracery, where sprigs appear interlaced, and twisted around a rough piece of wood. These were more or less intricate, according to the fancy or ability of the workman. Some are executed with remarkable taste, and their beauty is heightened by small studs of gold, silver, brass, or steel, producing a rich effect. Where the handles of the knife and fork were not made of horn or bone, they were usually finished in a similar style. When the blade formed a point that was carried beyond the end of the hilt, it was converted into an ornamental knob at top, and when it did not appear, the top was carved or chased, and frequently a large cairngorm was set in it.

The following, in the possession of the author, is a specimen of the old bidag and sheath.

The BELT for this weapon went round the loins, and was of much use in ascending mountains, or in running, in which cases it was drawn close. It was no less useful in fasting; a current proverb advises the Gaël to tighten their belts until they get food. It served also to fasten the breacan, and sometimes suspended the purse, having a buckle of brass, steel, or silver, which, in many cases, was figured, or bore a motto in front. Those of the Celtic warriors were richly ornamented with gold and silver; and, in Ossian's days, the "studded thongs of the sword," which he describes as broad, were much admired. A leathern girdle, perforated lozenge-wise, as here shewn, was found in a barrow, at Beaksbourne, in Kent.[v]



[v] Nenia Britannica.

The Norwegians, at the battle of Largs, fought in 1263, stripped Ferus, a Scots' knight, of his beautiful belt.[w]

Baldricks were not always of leather; they were sometimes of cloth, silk, or velvet, trimmed and ornamented with gold and silver. The Highlanders have often a waistbelt for suspending a pistol and ammunition pouch.

The dirk dance is a curious remain of the ancient amusements of the Gaël, but, from the change of manners, few of the Highlanders have now the least knowledge of it. It is denominated bruichcath, and some dirks have several perforations in the blade for the purpose, it is said, of inserting the ramrod of the pistol to act as a guard, but this is quite inconsistent with the dirk exercise. This performance has been represented in London, where two brothers, of the name of Mac Lennan, were almost the only individuals who could execute it, but the species of dance which is now known does not appear to be the same as the ancient. One James Mac Pherson, aged 106, several years since, saw two persons execute this dance, and declared it was not, by any means, in the old national way.

The Gauls carried a kind of sword, called by Strabo and Julius Pollux, machæra, by Cæsar and Livy, matara, or mazara. The first, according to O'Conner, is the Gaëlic ma' c'ar, the desolation of the field of battle. Mata is applied to all ferocious animals, and seems here joined with ar, or ara, slaughter. The matadh achalaïse was a weapon worn by the Highlanders, and evidently derived from their remote ancestors. It was carried under the left armpit, whence the term achalaise. Livy seems to describe it as hung from the left shoulder. In some figures discovered in the North of England, we perceive a dagger suspended by a cord, or belt, passing under the right arm.

[w] Johnstone's Transl. of the Norse Account of Haco's Expedition.

Besides all these weapons, the Highlanders carried the skean dhu, or black knife, which was stuck between the hose and the skin of their right leg. This may not be a very ancient practice: the knife was for the purpose of dispatching game, or other servile purposes, for which the Highlanders had an objection to employ their dirk.

The use of the BOW and ARROW is one of the most early discoveries of mankind. The Eastern nations have always been distinguished by an attachment to archery; and the modern Tartars, the descendants, as many believe, of the ancient Scythians, who can scarcely, in distant ages, be discriminated from the Celtæ, still retain that dexterity in the management of the bow, for which their ancestors were so celebrated. The inhabitants of the West and North of Europe were also famous for the exercise of this weapon, so serviceable in hunting and in battle, and their armies contained a numerous body who were armed with it, and who served both on foot and on horseback. So universal was the use of the bow, that Pliny observes half the world had been conquered by its means. Saighder, the Gaëlic name for a soldier, is apparently a compound of saighead, an arrow, and fear, a man.[x] The Roman sagitta shews its Celtic original. The Gaëlic word is a compound of sath, to thrust, or push, and geoda, an appendage. Iui, or fiui, an arrow, is now obsolete, except in the poems of Ossian.[y]

In Britain, the Belgæ are represented as having been particularly skilful in the practice of archery, but the etymology given of the name, deriving it from this exercise, does not seem very just, for the bow was common to Caledonians, Irish, and Welsh. The Belgic tribes were denominated Firbolg, from the bolg, builg, or leathern bag, in which they carried their arrows, as some maintain.

[x] Smith, in Trans. Highland Soc. Vol. i.; but see p. 176 this volume.

[y] Rev. Thomas Ross's Notes on Fingal.

The chief part of the Gothic and Norman armies consisted of archers, and among the Franks the use of the bow was strictly enjoined. A law of Charlemagne ordains those who are armed with clubs to assume bows and arrows. The superior skill of the Welsh, in the management of this weapon, is highly extolled by Giraldus Cambrensis, who informs us that the tribe named Venta excelled all others, and relates the following anecdote of their strength and dexterity. During a siege, it happened that two soldiers, running in haste towards a town, situated a little distance from them, were attacked with a number of arrows from the Welsh, which being shot with prodigious violence, some penetrated through the oak doors of a portal, although they were the breadth of four fingers in thickness. The heads of these arrows were afterwards driven out and preserved, in order to continue the remembrance of such extraordinary force in shooting with the bow. It happened also in a battle, in the time of William de Breusa, (as he himself relates,) that a Welchman having directed an arrow at an horse-soldier of his, who was clad in armour, and had his leather coat under it; the arrow, besides piercing the man through the hip, struck also through the saddle, and mortally wounded the horse on which he sat. Another Welsh soldier, having shot an arrow at one of his horsemen who was covered with strong armour, in the same manner as the before mentioned person, the shaft penetrated through his hip and fixed in the saddle: but, what is most remarkble, is, that as the horseman drew his bridle aside, in order to turn round, he received another arrow in his hip on the other side, which, passing through it, he was firmly fastened to the saddle on both sides. A bow with twelve arrows were among the three legal arms of the Cumri.

The celebrity of the Irish archers appears to have declined in latter times. They continued indeed to use the bow;

but if the name Scot is derived from the old Gaëlic Sciot, an arrow, their ancestors must have been very remarkable for the practice. So much neglected, however, had the art of shooting with the bow become in Ireland, that Cambrensis recommends archers to be intermingled with the heavy English troops, when fighting with the natives; and the conquest of the island is said to have been achieved, principally by the services of these men, to which the Irish could not oppose a similar arm,[2] but the English long bow was a weapon which neither the Scots nor the Irish could, at all times, effectually withstand. These nations never depended for victory in a pitched battle, by the use of their bows, which were of small size. The Scots' archers commenced an engagement, and when the battle joined, they abandoned the arrow for the sword and spear, as they were afterwards accustomed to do with their fire arms. In the Low Country, where a regular charge could be made, the spear was the favorite weapon. Few of Wallace's men, we are told, were—"Sicker of archery,"

"better they were,
In field to bide, eyther with sword or speare."

Notwithstanding the dexterity with which they managed their own little bows, the tremendous effect of the English was acknowledged in a current saying, that "every English archer beareth under his girdle twenty-foure scottes," alluding to the number of arrows. Many enactments were passed, with little effect, to improve the Scots' archers. So late as 1595, one James Forgeson, a bowyer, was sent by the King of Scotland into England to purchase ten thousand bows and bow-staves, and as he could not procure them there, he proceeded to the continent. The Scots, remarkable for their tenacity of ancient practices, conti-

[2] Lord Littleton.

nued to use their short bows and little quivers with short-bearded arrows, which Spenser says "are at this day to be seene, not past three quarters of a yard long, with a string of wreathed hempe slackely bent, and whose arrows are not above half an ell long."

The battle of Halidowne hill, 1333, affords an instance of the dreadful effect of the English long bow. "The lord Percie's archers did withall deliver their deadly arrowes so lively, so courageously, so grievously, that they ranne through the men of armes, bored the helmets, pierced their very swords, beat their lances to the earth, and easily shot those who were more slightly armed, through and through." The Scotish archers, however, on several occasions, made a good figure in the national armies, and acquired considerable renown. Those who opposed Haco, at Largs, in 1263, were well accoutred, and chiefly armed with bows and spears. At the field of Bannockburn, James III. had ten thousand Highlanders with bows and arrows, who led the van. At Fala, James V. mustered an army of sixty thousand men, twenty thousand of whom carried pikes and spears, and twenty thousand "were armed with bows and habergions and two-handed swords, which was the armour of our Highland men."[a] In 1528, Lord Howard, the English ambassador, brought three score horsemen, all picked men, and celebrated for all sorts of athletic amusements, to Scotland; but "they were well sayed (tried) ere they passed out of it," says Pistcottie, "and that by their own provocation; but ever they tint, (lost); till at last the Queen of Scotland, the King's mother, favored the Englishmen, because she was the King of England's sister; and therefore she took an enterprise of archery upon the Englishmen's hands, contrary her son, the King, and any six in Scotland, that he would wale,

[a] Lindsay of Pitscottie.

either gentlemen or yeomen, that the Englishmen should shoot against them either at pricks, revers, or butts, as the Scots pleased. The king was content, and gart her pawn a hundred crowns, and a tun of wine upon the Englishmen's hands; and he incontinently laid down as much for the Scottishmen. The field and ground were chosen in St. Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the English, viz. David Wemys of that ilk, David Arnot of that ilk, and Mr. John Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee; the yeomen were John Thompson, in Leith, Stephen Tabourner, with a piper, called Alexander Baillie. They shot very near, and warred the Englishmen of the enterprise, and won the hundred crowns and the tun of wine; which made the king very merry."

The Scots' Highlanders and the Gaël of Ulster continued to use the bow till the beginning of last century. It was extremely serviceable in hunting, for which purpose it was much employed by the ancient Britons. In fighting, the Celtic method was first to expend all their arrows at a distance; when the chief of each tribe advanced with his men to a closer attack. The bow was last used as a military weapon by British troops about 1700, when the regiment of Royal Scots, commanded by the Earl of Orkney, were armed in "the old Highland fashion, with bows and arrows, swords and targets, and wore steel bonnets."[b] About that period the inhabitants of the island of Lewis were celebrated for their dexterity in archery:[c] those of Glenlyon, in Perthshire,[d] and Strathconan, were equally famous. The bow was drawn by the right ear.

The introduction of the musquet was a death blow to the use of the bow, and to the interests of all who lived by the manufacture. Those affected by the decay of this

[b] Mem. Don. Mac Leod. [c] Martin. [d] Gillies' Old Gaëlic Poems, p. 83.

ancient, and once so effective weapon, strenuously opposed the adoption of fire arms, and contended for its superiority. Its encouragement did for some time become an object of national solicitude, but no exertions could retard the advance of improvement in the art of destruction, and avert the ultimate fall of "the noble science of archery."

In the Lansdowne collection of MSS., No. 22 contains a discourse, addressed to the Council of Henry VIII., or Edward VI., shewing that the use of the bow was much more destructive than "goinnery." In Alleyn's Henry VII., quoted by Dr. Johnson, we are told that

> "The white faith of history cannot shew
> That e'er a musket yet could beat the bow."

In 1576, the bowyers, fletchers, stringers, and arrow-head makers, petitioned Lord Burleigh for authority to enforce the practice of archery, and repress unlawful exercises, according to the statutes; when it was hoped that, in two or three years, the use of the bow would be restored. A warrant from Queen Elizabeth, preserved in the same volume, was granted according to the prayer of the petitioners, but it was unfortunately left without the royal signature.

Sir John Smyth, knight, in his work on "the Necessity of Archery," b. letter, 1596, says, he never will refuse, with eight thousand good archers, to adventure his life against twenty thousand of the best shot in Christendom. Alas! the lamentable forebodings of speedy destruction to the liberties of old England, from the introduction of fire arms, were the creations of their own brains; and Smyth's objections were repelled, with strong arguments, by one Barwick, an old and experienced soldier.

The Gallic bow appears, from various monuments, to have been similar in form to those now used. The Scy-

thians had it of a singular curve, the ends being bent inwards, in the form of a crescent, with a straight round part in the centre. The Scots made their bows of yew; the English preferred ash. Those of the Welsh were of rough wild elm.[e]

Arrows, in their most simple form, were merely a reed, or slip of wood, carefully sharpened to a point; and it is reported as a curious fact, that an arrow of this sort will penetrate deeper into the body which it strikes, than if it were armed with any other substance. The arrows of the ancient inhabitants of Picardy were formed of a certain reed, excellent for the purpose, and only inferior to those that grew in the Rhene, a river in Bonnonia.[f] The Scythians used fir tree,[g] the Sarmatæ employed cornel wood, and, having no iron, they pointed their arrows with osiers.[h] The Fenns, a people of Germany, used bone.

One of the most ancient means of arming offensive weapons, was by the laborious formation of stone for that purpose. So generally does this mode of pointing arrows seem to have prevailed, that there are few countries where these rude articles are not to be found. They have been discovered in America and the West India Islands. Herodotus describes the arrows of the Ethiopians, who served in Xerxes' army, as being pointed with a stone used for those seals that were engraved.[i] The use of metal, which that writer shews to have been well known to the nations of the West at a very early period of time, indicates the extreme antiquity of these stone implements, which are found in considerable numbers in various parts of Scotland. In Ireland they are also often met with, but in England less frequently, although beautiful specimens have been disco-

[e] Gir. Camb. [f] Pliny, xvi. 36. [g] Strabo.
[h] Pausanias, i. 21. [i] Lib. vii. 69.

vered in the barrows of Wiltshire and elsewhere. They have been found in Isla, but have never perhaps been met with in any other of the islands of Hebudæ.

It is difficult to conceive how they could have been formed in those rude ages, when there were no implements of metal to assist in the manufacture. It must have been by a patient and careful beating and rubbing, the workman probably spoiling many before he was able to produce one perfect. The regularity of their figure is astonishing, and much labour and perseverance were certainly necessary, to mould and polish them so neatly. The flint of which they are formed is generally of a brownish colour; in Perth and Aberdeenshires they are generally reddish. Some have been found in Ireland of a stone resembling an onyx, and nearly as pellucid.

They are usually discovered in the sepultures of the ancient tribes, who were accustomed to deposit a certain number, according to the rank and estimation in which the deceased warrior was held; but in Scotland they are more generally to be picked up on the land, particularly that which has been recently brought under cultivation, being then turned up by the plough or spade. In some particular parts they are found more abundantly than in others, and often in such numbers as to indicate the field of an ancient battle. Many rough flints are found in a certain spot on the Culbin hills, near the æstuary of the Findhorn, and no similar stones being near the place, it has been conjectured that a manufactory for arrow heads was there established.[1] That they were very valuable in those rude ages, when they were used, can be readily believed from the extreme trouble there must have been in forming them, and it appears they were occasionally deposited under

[1] Sir T. Dick Lauder, in Trans. of Scots Antiquaries, iii. 99.

ground for security, as money has been in more recent times. If their fabrication was an art practised by certain persons, these hoards may have been their stock. In trenching a piece of very rough stony ground, at Cults, on the banks of the Dee, a few miles from Aberdeen, several years since, about thirty of them were found under a large stone; and, in labouring a waste part of a farm in the bræ of Essie, a similar deposit was discovered. These singular facts prove the care with which those little implements were preserved.

Their most common and simple form is a lozenge, more acute at one end than the other; some are barbed on each side. One which was found at Connemara, in Ireland, had no middle point, but, from the print, it does not appear whether this part is in its original state.[k] One of those found at Essie had the middle part very neatly perforated.

These stone heads were fixed, it is supposed, in a small cavity, adapted for this purpose, in the end of the shaft. Such a mode of pointing arrows was very common in recent times, the shaft being formed with a hollow at one end. In Scotland the flint arrow heads are denominated elf shot, from a firm belief, among the common people, that they are of no human formation, but the shot with which the elves, or fairies, assail cattle, and even attempt the destruction of human beings, either for their amusement, or from a spirit of malevolence.[l]

This superstition exists in full strength, even among people whose education, one might suppose, would prevent the indulgence of so ridiculous an idea, and various practices are resorted to in order to avert or counteract the designs of these evil spirits. I have heard several persons speak of

[k] Archæologia, xv. 394.

[l] The Manx believe that the first inhabitants of their island were fairies, who were extremely fond of hunting. Waldron's Hist.

having been struck with them, fortunately not with sufficient force to produce a wound, in the most positive manner, and many more have declared that they have often witnessed the cattle labouring under the effects of this unearthly shot. It is, indeed, acknowledged that now, when the Scriptures have become so fully disseminated, the elves have been restrained from so free a range, and it is only occasionally that any of the cattle are "shot a dead."

In Bowen's Geography, printed in 1747, we find it related that the "county of Aberdeen has one sort of stones, which seem to be of the flint kind—they are always found by chance, and often in the roads, where none were to be seen an hour or two before, and sometimes they are discovered in the boots, &c. of travellers; and as they are generally found in the summer, when the sky is clear, naturalists conclude they are formed in the air, by some gross exhalations!" Sir Robert Sibbald also notices their frequency in Aberdeenshire.[m] A clergyman, about the end of the seventeenth century, says they are shaped like a barbed arrow head, but flung, like a dart, with great force!

When cattle are unfortunately struck by these malicious elves, they breathe hard and refuse all food, by which tokens it is easily understood what has befallen them. Those women who are "canny" immediately begin carefully to examine the animal, until they find where the arrow head has wounded them; and this is a matter of no little difficulty, for the skin is never perforated, but the hole is found in the inner membrane. In Aberdeenshire they are accustomed to cure the elf shot by an application of salt and tar, prepared with due solemnity. In other parts, the place where the animal has been struck is well rubbed with salt, and a quantity of it dissolved in water, wherein silver, or an elf shot has been dipped, is poured

[m] Plott's Hist. of Staffordshire.

down the throat, and some is also sprinkled on the ears. The animal then begins to breathe easier, and, in the course of an hour, will recover. Cattle who die of this disease, or, rather, accident, exhibit mortified spots in those parts where the shot is believed to have entered, for it is not the least mysterious circumstance that the shot itself is never found in the flesh, but is often picked up near the animal. However strange it may appear, very respectable authorities have borne testimony to the existence of such spots, or holes, under the skin, as well as to the efficiency of the prescribed cure. That there is such a malady is certain, and the mode of treating it may be successful. The superstitious observances attending the application are derived from those times when the efficacy of all prescriptions were believed to depend on the virtues imparted by the ceremonies with which they were prepared. None of the herbs, so celebrated for their sanative properties during the existence of Druidism, were gathered or administered without the most scrupulous adherence to established forms.

In consequence of the popular persuasion that these singular stones are really the offensive weapons of "the fair folk," it is difficult to prevail with those who have been so fortunate as meet with one, to part with it, for it is firmly believed, that so long as an elf shot is preserved, neither the cattle nor the owner is liable to be molested by these insidious enemies. They are, therefore, carried about the person, or carefully deposited in the guidwife's kist, and sometimes they are even set in silver.[n]

I have been able to collect fourteen or fifteen of them, but have often observed a party, from whom I was soliciting them, assume a look of considerable gravity, appa-

[n] Vallancey says the Irish set them in silver, and wear them about the neck as amulets. Collect. Hib.

rently suspecting that I had some other reason for my request than motives of mere curiosity.

After the art of working metals was discovered, mankind would soon avail themselves of its use in pointing their arrows. The Scythians, so early as the time of Herodotus, had their arrow heads of brass, and he relates a story which shows that they must have had very great numbers of them. The time when iron, or brass, became the substitute for the rude flint of the primitive Celts is unknown. In the earliest history of the Caledonians we find metal in use, and in one of Ossian's poems we even read of an arrow of gold! In the seventeenth century they had "arrows for the most part hooked, with a barble on either side, which, once entered within the body, could not be drawn forth again, unless the wound was made wider." There seems to have been something peculiar in the form of these points, which made a most galling wound. Spenser describes the Scots of Ulster as having their arrows "tipped with steele heads, made like common broad arrow heads, but much more sharpe and slender, so that they enter into a man or horse most cruelly, notwithstanding that they are shot forth weakely."[o]

The old Caledonian arrows were of birch, feathered in the usual manner, and carried by the side. Perhaps the Celts stuck them in the belt, as the English and Scots were afterwards accustomed to do; but a figure, supposed to represent a Gaul, discovered in Northumberland, has a quiver suspended at his right hip. Cambrensis informs us the common Welsh carried the arrows in their hand. The ancient Britons had, however, generally quivers of osier; some of twisted brass, but unknown antiquity, have been

[o] Spenser. Carrying bows and arrows were restrained. Ib. 22. Hist. of Ireland, 1626.

found. The Gaël had them formed of badger's skin.[p] Their strings are said to have been of hemp, but they were, it is believed, also formed of the intestines of animals. It is reckoned good policy to "have two strings to a bow." A seal, found in the field of Bannockburn, represented a figure carrying a bow, provided with two strings, both fixed; and a law of Charlemagne refers to "arcum cum duabus cordis."

An ancient amusement of the Scotish bowmen, was shooting at the pepingoe, or popingay, and there is a society regularly established, in 1688, at Kilwinning, in Airshire, where this mark is projected from the church steeple, and the archers, resting their left foot close to the base of the wall, shoot perpendicularly. The royal archers of Scotland, who have the honour to be the king's body guard in that kingdom, and enjoy certain privileges, were incorporated by Queen Anne.

The Highlanders do not appear, in recent times, to have had CAVALRY, but the old Gaël had certainly considerable bodies of horsemen. In proof of this, a poem of John Lom Mac Donald, who lived in the time of Charles II., addressed to Clanrannald, may be quoted, where there is a verse of which the following is a translation:

"When thou didst take up arms in the cause of thy King, thy saddles covered a thousand dark grey coursers."[q]

The author of a journey in Scotland, 1729, says the Frasers, were mostly composed of gentlemen on horse-back. The Caledonians long preserved a celebrity for horsemanship, which was inherited from their remote ancestors, the Celtic tribes of Britain and the continent, who were equally renowned for their well trained cavalry. The chief strength of their armies consisted in infantry, but

[p] Prosnacha Fairge of Clan Rannald. [q] Turner's Collection, p. 87.

Strabo asserts that the horsemen were most efficient, and Plutarch attests the excellence of this branch of their military.[r] Tacitus particularly celebrates the Tencteri, and Cæsar acknowledges the admirable manner in which the Gallic, German, and British cavalry opposed and thwarted his ambitious designs. At the battle of Cannæ, the Celtic horsemen behaved with a firmness and intrepidity which excited the praises of their enemies.

In the Northern regions, we are told by Pliny, the horses were wild, and roamed about in great herds, but the Gauls and Germans must have had them domesticated and broken into great docility, and so much were they esteemed, that the Romans, according to Strabo, procured the chief part of their horses from Gaul. By Tacitus they are considered less remarkable for their fleetness than for keeping excellent order, marching with the greatest regularity. Those of Celtiberia were small, but had a graceful pace, and were taught to stoop, that their riders might be able to mount with facility;[s] those of Lusitania were extremely fleet.[t] The rude warriors of distant ages, robust, and inured to privations and fatigue, bred their horses to extreme labour and hardihood. We are told that the Sarmatians, a German people celebrated as equestrians, when preparing for a long journey, gave their horses no meat for two days, but supplied them with a little drink and galloped them one hundred and fifty miles on a stretch!

The British horses are described by Tacitus and Dio as diminutive, but extremely swift, spirited, and hardy, resembling those of the present Highlanders, which were in general allowed until lately, like the race in Shetland, to live in almost natural wildness.

[r] The whole force of the Catti consisted of foot. [s] Strabo.
[t] Pliny, lib. viii.

The small native Highland horses are termed garrons, and although now semi-domesticated, it is often a work of much trouble to catch them when they are turned loose on the hills. To accomplish this, they are sometimes driven up a steep hill, where the nearest pursuer endeavours to catch them by the hind leg, both not unfrequently tumbling down together; sometimes they are hunted until fatigue compels them to lie down. An entertaining writer, who visited the country many years ago, gives the following description of the method of breaking-in these unruly animals, as he witnessed it in Inverness-shire. A man had tied a rope about the hind leg; the horse was kicking and struggling violently, while the Highlander continued to beat it unmercifully with a large stick, "and sometimes the garron was down, and sometimes the Highlander was down, and not seldom both of them together, but still the man kept his hold," and succeeded in reducing the horse to perfect docility.

The ancient Caledonians were celebrated for the use of horses in war. Their descendants neglected this arm, without entirely disusing it. They are said to have had the greatest dread of cavalry, their fears being augmented by an idea that the horses were taught to fight with their feet as well as to bite. They certainly evinced no such terror in 1745, when they so often defeated them. On the contrary, the rebels entertained great contempt for cavalry, having so easily overthrown the dragoons. The manœuvre by which this was accomplished consisted in striking at their heads, and slashing the mouths, which infallibly sent them to the right about. An old follower of the Mac Intoshes told me he saved his life at Culloden by this mode of defence, against some horsemen. The cavalry in the Highland army on this occasion, besides the French piquet, were chiefly from the Low Country. The Irish

were celebrated horsemen to a late period, and their horses were of the same small breed. It was apparently from their size that they were called Hobbies, whence the cavalry were denominated Hobblers. These troops were not, indeed, all provided with arms, but they were found serviceable in the English armies, and paid according to their equipments. Two thousand were ordered against the Scots by Edward II., and at the siege of Calais, in 1347, many were employed. The nobles had much pride in the appearance of their horses. Paul Jovius says he saw twelve of a beautiful white colour, adorned with purple and silver reins, led, without riders, in the train of the Pope. A French writer, describing the expedition of Richard II. to Ireland, in 1399, says, Mac Murrough's horse cost 400 cows, but he rode without either stirrups or saddle. The Celtic riders do not appear to have used these articles. A bridle seems to be indispensable; yet, in the sculpture of Antoninus's column, &c. they are usually represented without reins, sustaining themselves, when at full gallop, by clinging to the neck or mane. Sometimes a single rein is seen; and a cord, or fillet, is in some cases carried once or twice round the neck. Alexander I. offered a favorite Arabian horse at the altar of St. Andrew's Church, the saddle, bridle, and velvet housings of which were splendidly ornamented. The Welsh, whose horses were of the same diminutive and hardy breed as the Scots and Irish, and who retained the national partiality for the use of cavalry, had a considerable number at the battle of Agincourt, 1415, none of whom had saddles. The Irish, some centuries since, notwithstanding they neither used stirrups nor saddle, were very expert equestrians, being accustomed to vault on horses while running at their utmost speed, and although they bore the spear above the head, yet many acknowledged they had "never met with more comely or brave chargers." About

two hundred years ago they occasionally used a pad without stirrups, but it was thought strange that the women should ride with their faces to the right side.[u] It does not appear that shoes for horses were considered necessary by the Celts. The inhabitants of the Isles, and many districts of the Highlands of Scotland, at the present day, prove that these articles are not indispensable. The horses travel in these parts without inconvenience, and with the surest footing, over the hard flinty rocks, and along the most intricate and precipitous tractways. They do not seem formerly, in any case, to have been shod, and so little is it yet attended to, that, in some districts, the blacksmiths can neither make shoes, nor put them on!

The Gallic, German, and Scythian horsemen, as seen in the remains of ancient sculpture, wore the sagum, thrown over the naked shoulders, and enveloping the rider much like the cloak of the modern cavalry. They carried a shield and javelin, to which a sword was sometimes added. Similar arms were borne by the British tribes, and retained until late ages by the inhabitants of Wales. The Irish, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, used also a staff.[v]

The Celtic cavalry consisted of horsemen and charioteers, the troops serving, in either way, according to circumstances. They were always attended by footmen, who were ready to succour their masters when wounded or overpowered, and were able also to fight in their stead. These followers were chosen by the warriors from their own kindred, and they had thus an opportunity of selecting the best qualified and most faithful of their followers, who, like the attendants of the knights of the middle ages, had opportunity of rising to distinction under the eye of their supe-

[u] Spenser, Riche, Stanihurst, &c. [v] Riche, p. 96.

riors. How striking is the similarity of this practice to that of the Scotish Gaël! It is related of Hannibal, that, before the battle with Sempronius, he picked out one thousand horse and as many foot, and ordered each to chuse nine others from the whole army. As this general had a numerous body of Gauls in his service, from which people the Carthaginians always recruited their forces, it is not improbable that he imitated the practice of the Celts in this case, for we find him, on other occasions, paying some deference to their opinion. The Romans, who were noted for adopting every thing advantageous in the tactics of other nations, perhaps formed their Velites on the Celtic plan.

We find, also, that the Gallic horsemen were sometimes accompanied by two servants, who, on the marches, attended to the waggons and baggage, but were provided with horses, and fought bravely in battle. They posted themselves in the rear, and supplied their masters with horses, if dismounted, or, if killed, one took his place, and, if he also fell, the other was ready to succeed him. This mode of fighting they called trimarcisias, from the word marca, a horse.[w] To this day, marc, in the Gaëlic of Scotland and Ireland, has the same signification;[x] in Welsh and Armoric there is march, in Cornish marh. The term is therefore a compound of tri, three, and marca, horse! The same mode of fighting was practised by the Irish, who had two regular horsemen, and another whose business it was to attend to the animal.[y] These last were the Horse boys. The chosen bands of the Persians, and others, did not attack the enemy until those who were engaged had all been slain; but

[w] Pausanias, x. 19. Diod. v. 2.

[x] Hence marcach, a rider; marchsluagh, cavalry. Cabal, whence the Latin Caballus, is another term for this animal from all, a horse, and cab, mouth, i. e. a horse who is guided by the mouth, or broken in.

[y] Beckman's Hist. of Invent. ii. p. 247.

the Celts, on the contrary, continued to fill up the places of such as fell. Végetius says, that among the Gauls and Celtiberians these bodies amounted to six thousand men. Dumnorix, an Æduan chief, kept constantly a great number of horsemen in his pay, who attended him wherever he went.[x] These men were so strong and swift of foot, that, seizing the horses' mane, when running, they could easily keep pace with them.

The most remarkable feature in a Celtic army was the body of CHARIOTEERS, who performed their evolutions with surprising dexterity and direful effect. The Britons were indeed so expert in this manner of fighting, that it is believed to have originated with them, an opinion that may have arisen from the superiority of their tactics, and the practice becoming less frequent on the continent. Much conjectural discussion has arisen respecting the form and construction of the battle chariots. Some antiquaries have supposed that they resembled the Irish cars, or the rude carts used by the inhabitants of Wales;[a] but it is impossible to believe that the British chariots, if not superior to those mean and awkward vehicles, could have excited so particularly the notice of the Romans, or made so great an impression on their veteran legions. Inconsiderable as the commerce of the Britons may have been in those distant ages, it can be reasonably presumed they were not destitute of many cars, for the purposes of traffic. The extended tract-ways, formed with sufficient care to preserve, even yet, well defined remains, were surely constructed for such conveyances.

Celtic armies were always accompanied by numerous waggons, even when there was little or no baggage to be removed; and we learn from Diodorus that they used chariots in travelling as well as in war. One description was

[x] Bello Gall. i. 15.

[a] King's Munimenta Antiqua.

called Covinus. Cobhain, in Gaëlic, signifies a box, or any similar receptacle, and is the origin of the English coffin, the bh having the sound of v. The word, if originally applied to the battle car, may be derived from cobh, victory, or cobhuain, to hew down on all sides, in allusion to the hooks and scythes with which these vehicles were provided, both in Britain and on the continent. The old Highlanders applied this term to a sort of litter, borne between two horses, in manner of a bier. The word is now lost in the Gaëlic,[b] but carbad, of similar import, is preserved, and this word, used by Ossian and other bards for the war chariot, is now applied to a coffin. From this has probably arisen the tradition that that of Cuthullin, described by Ossian, was his funeral car.

Another sort of chariots were called Essedæ; and Whitaker, who notices the general appellation of car-rhod, wheeled car, says they were furnished with seats. Du Cange says the covinus was currus cathedra instructus, but there is reason to believe that it was not so; the name implies that they were not encumbered with seats. The Essedarii seem to have been those who fought in the first-rate war chariots, drawn by two horses, and their name appears to be one of those ancient Celtic words that no longer exist. The term fonnadh, synonymous with carbad, has been disused by the Highlanders for ages.

The battle cars must have been strongly built, to sustain the violent concussions produced by their furious encounters, and they could not have been constructed at all without the possession of necessary tools and a knowledge of the mechanical arts. I am here obliged to differ from that excellent antiquary, Sir R. Hoare, who is of opinion that these vehicles were of slight construction, and finds his supposition strengthened by a recent discovery, of which he furnished an

[b] Rev. Dr. Mac Queen, of Kilmuir.

account to the Society of Antiquaries.[c] In a fissure, or chink, of the rock at Hamden hill, near Bath, many curious articles were found; among which were fragments of wheels, conjectured to be the remains of war chariots. One of these was nearly perfect, measured two and a half feet in diameter, and had contained twelve spokes. It was only two inches thick, being little stronger than a grinder's wheel, and how a construction so weak could have withstood the rough jolting, the furious driving, and the violent shocks of a contention on unequal ground is not easily conceived. The term carbad-cogaidh, literally the war chariot, used by the ancient bards, seems to distinguish it from others, and, when it is characterized as "rapid," it is expressive of the velocity with which it was driven.

Diodorus says the Gauls and Britons used the war chariot just as the Trojans did, and we have little reason to believe the forms were very different; a description of those of the Greeks and Romans may therefore be applicable to the others. There were two wheels, of no greater diameter than the height of a man's knee, and they were sometimes formed of wood, firmly joined together by iron, but the common method was with four, six, or eight spokes, the fellies being shod with brass. The axle-tree, on which they moved, was long, in order to prevent the car from being overset by the inequalities of the ground. The pole, or temo, was very strongly fastened to the axle, and so well secured by two diagonal pieces of wood that no instance is said to have occurred of its being broken. The body of the car was also fixed to the axle, for farther security, and the chariot could therefore be driven with the utmost rapidity, over all sorts of ground, and in the thickest tumult of battle, without any danger of being overturned. The body of the car was open behind, and, from the man-

[c] Archæologia, xxi.

ner of harnessing, this part fell very low. The sides that were here little higher than the floor, rose gradually towards the front, which was breast high, and rounded for the protection of the riders, from which it was called the shield part. In the works of the bards it may be remarked, quadrangular chariots, and some of "many corners," are spoken of. Fosbrooke says the body of the car was formed of wicker; the harness of the Greek chariot was simple, but well adapted for the purpose, the collar and the body girth appearing to be the only parts employed; and both were formed of broad and thick leathern belts, which joined across the horses' withers; on these were laid the ends of the yoke, which was formed of wood, with a curve fitting the round of the animal's shoulders. The pole was fixed to the yoke by a peg inserted in a hole, and was farther secured by a stout leathern thong, which, according to Homer, was about fourteen feet in length.

The Celtic chariots appear to have been usually drawn by two horses abreast, and it is supposed that this sort were the Essedæ, which were provided with the scythe blades, the covinus being drawn by one horse only, and not furnished with these destructive weapons. This opinion does not seem well founded, for, on an ancient sculpture, we see an armed car drawn by a single horse. The blades, or hooks, were like other arms, usually of bronze, and about thirteen inches in length.[d] It is customary to represent them attached to the axle, but it is evident that, for the purpose of cutting down the enemy, they must have been immovably fixed to the car. If the description of Cuthullin's chariot, as preserved in the poems of Ossian, be admitted as authentic, the cars of the Britons will be found to have closely resembled those above described, and to have been of ingenious construction. The investigations

[d] Fosbrooke's Encyclopedia of Antiquities.

of the Highland Society have discovered that the translation of Mac Pherson was not executed with sufficient fidelity. The word which he renders gems, is applied to pebbles, which, however, may comprise those precious stones that are so frequently found in the mountains. There certainly appears to be nothing improbable in the bard's account, for we know that the Celts were always remarked for a strong pride of dress and ornament, and used, long before the value of coral, as an export to India, became known, to adorn their shields, swords, helmets, &c. with it. The Irish took the greatest delight in the splendour of their cavalry accoutrements; and, in a comparatively recent period, it was thought necessary to repress their extravagance, by a statute against "the use of gilt bridles and petronels." The Scots were equally vain, and it will be hereafter shewn that the Bardic descriptions are not inconsistent with the state of the arts in those remote periods. Propertius says that the car was often painted, and the yoke embossed.[e] Cuthullin is styled "the chief of the noble car," from which it may be inferred that it was of superior construction; it was evidently an Esseda, and not the common sort, and a prevalent tradition represents it with four horses.[f]

The following description from a poem in the possession of the Highland Society, differs considerably from the version of Mac Pherson. In the first volume of the Highland Society's edition of the works of Ossian is another translation from the original poems, formerly in Mac Pherson's possession, which shews that, however beautiful the diction, he did not perform his task with strict fidelity.

[e] "Essedæ cœlatis siste Britannici jugis," ii.

[f] Dr. Mac Queen, of Kilmuir, in a letter to Dr. Blair.

I have there seen the car of battle,
The shining car of many corners!
Moving sometimes slow, and sometimes rapid,—
Guided by the skilful and the wise!
It is like the mist which bright arises
From its edge of mild red light,
On a bare and stony summit.
Its green covering is formed of haircloth.
On its wheel, smooth as bone, is the gloss of wax.
Its beams of yew, with full grained ears,
And spreading bows is carved!
Around the car
Is every smooth and shining pebble.
The gleaming light, which darts a double ray
From its sides of crimson,
Is like the sparkling whirl of the sea,
Round a ship, when the moon is not seen on the flood.
First in the car is found
The grey, the swift, the leading horse,
The large thorough passing, quick travelling,
The broad breasted, sure eyed, and equal paced,
The high spirited, well trained, and wide leaping steed,
Whose name is Lia-maishah, (the handsome grey.)
Last in the car is found
The strong hoofed and powerful horse,
The long flanked, proudly bounding,
Small shanked, thin maned,
High headed, quick paced;
The light bellied, snorting, eager steed,
Whose name is Dusronmor, (black, with large nostrils.)
In the centre of the car are found,
For the support of the generous steeds,
The arms known to fame.
The light, broad plated darts,
Of rapid flight and deadly aim.
The narrow but firm reins,
The precious highly polished bits, which shine in the mouth.
Lockers containing coverlets and glistening gems,
The beautiful furniture of the steeds.

* * * * * *

Within the car is the strong armed hero of swords,

Whose name is Cuchullin, the son of Semo,
Son of Suvalta, son of Begalt.
His red cheek is like the polished yew:
Lofty the look of his blue rolling eye beneath the arch of his brow.
His bushy hair is a waving flame,
As coming towards us, a fiery bolt.
He wields both his forward spears.[g]

The rest of this curious poem is wanting. It would appear from it that the horses were yoked in line, but other translations represent them abreast. These also describe the gems as ornamenting the horses' manes.

The use of the chariot was confined to kings and commanders;[h] and of the two riders, the most honourable held the reins, from which he acquired the bardic appellation of the ruler of the car. In drawing up an army, the Celts placed the horsemen and chariots at the extremity of each wing, as we learn from Polybius and Tacitus, but they were also accustomed to mix light-armed foot with the cavalry, for the purpose of stabbing the enemies' horses, and overthrowing the riders.[i] The attack commenced by driving furiously up and down, or rather bearing down transversely along the front of the enemies' line, when by discharging their darts, or saunians, they broke the ranks and opened a way for the infantry. When this was accomplished, they dismounted and fought with their swords; the drivers retiring to a little distance, placed themselves in reserve to assist those that were most hotly pressed, and secure the retreat of the warriors, should they be defeated.[j] In order to avoid the danger of the furious onset, Alexander ordered his troops, when engaged with the Thracians, who had a multitude of cars, to lay themselves flat on the

[g] Report on the poems of Ossian, p. 205.
[h] Tacitus, Vita Agricolæ. Adomnan, i. c. 7.
[i] Bello Gall. vii. Amm. Mar. xvi. 10. [j] Bello Gall. v. 12.

ground, and, covering themselves with their shields, to allow the enemies' cavalry to pass over them. The chariot attack was so terrific, that the noise of the horses and rattling of the wheels, alone, were sometimes sufficient to throw the firmest troops into confusion. The Roman legions suffered excessively from the destructive charges of the Gallic battle car. The admirable manner in which it was managed by the Britons is attested by the great Cæsar. "In the most steep and difficult places," says he, "they can stop their horses when at full speed, turn them which way they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity." Such feats are only seen in our days at places for equestrian exhibitions. The choicest phalanx of Roman veterans was shaken by the British covinarii, whose numbers were astonishingly great, for, after Cassivellanus had disbanded his army in despair, he reserved four thousand cars as a small body guard, who, thus reduced, were yet so formidable to the Romans that Cæsar strictly forbade his troops to venture any distance from the camp, although his army consisted of five legions. It was a favorite manœuvre of the charioteers to feign a retreat, in order to draw the cavalry from the main body, when, suddenly alighting, they encountered the pursuers on foot, who were unable to contend with a manner of fighting to which their usual tactics were so unequal, and which was rendered more dangerous by the Celtic principle of fighting in clans. In that most ancient poem, the Tain-bo of Cualgne, a chariot fight is described. Linchets, or deep cuts like terraces, on the sides of hills and in the vicinity of entrenchments, were probably for the ascent and descent of the cars.

It is evident that great skill was requisite in the management of the war chariot. From an ancient coin, the driver

appears to correct the horses with a bundle of rods in place of a whip. Steadiness was most essential as well in advancing as in wheeling, wherein it is thought that the chief excellence in driving was displayed. Indeed, without an amazing dexterity in managing the carbad, the whole body must have been thrown into disorder and confusion, and their own line of infantry broken through. The Celts, more particularly the British tribes, were extremely proud of this part of the army, on which they placed so much dependance, and it was therefore an object of national importance to have the troops well trained and exercised in the various evolutions peculiar to the service. Chariot races were undoubtedly very popular amusements of antiquity, notwithstanding the assertion of Pausanias, that the practice was "neither an ancient invention nor attended with graceful execution."[k] Of so much importance did the Britons consider these races, that they appear to have made their celebration a religious duty, from a cursus being found in the immediate vicinity of places of worship, the most remarkable instance of which is found on Salisbury plain, near the celebrated Stonehenge. This race course is about three hundred and fifty feet wide, and rather more than three quarters of a mile long. The seats for the judges, or the carcer, is placed at one end, and is raised terracewise. From this place the racers started, and turned round two mounds at the other end. It has been observed that if several chariots contended, it must follow that those on the outside, having a greater circuit to make than the inner rank, the equality between the competitors was destroyed; but I am of opinion that this would be entirely obviated by the chariots being arranged, before starting, in a diagonal line, from the corner of the carcer towards

[k] Lib. v. c. 9; he flourished in 165.

the side of the cursus, a form that would, besides, allow the judges to have a proper view of those who were to run.

There is another hypodrome about half a mile distant, which is supposed to retain its ancient name in Rawdikes, derived from Rhedagua, a race ground.[l] Another is seen near Dorchester; one is in the vicinity of Royston, and another exists on the bank of the Lowther, near Penrith. Perhaps the annual coursing around Cnoc an geal, in Iona, at the feast of St. Michael, may have originated among the pagan Celts. The Curragh of Kildare, in Ireland, is supposed to have been a cursus; its name appears to come from comhruith,[m] a race-course. There is also a plain called Curraugh, in the Isle of Man.

Mis-merh, the horse-month, was the name, according to Pryce, given to march, because they, at that time, went to war on horse back.[n] The Britons continued to fight in cars in the time of Severus, who died 211, and the era assigned to the Caledonian bard is the end of that century. In the sixth century, from a quotation which Gratianus Lucius inserts, we find of the Irish "collecto quando exercitu in curribus et equitibus," &c. At this time, they were used also by the Scots. From some Irish writers, however, if they can be credited, it would appear that, about the epoch of Christianity, the carbad was scarcely known.[o] Pinkerton quotes an "Essai sur l'histoire de Picardie," to shew that, so late as 1182, cars were used in Flanders.

At the battle of Largs, in 1263, the Scots' horses were provided with breastplates.[p] It appears, from Nichols' Progresses of James I., that the practice of horse racing, now so popular in England, was, about that time, introduced from Scotland. In the Harleian MS., No. 681, under the

[l] Pownal on the Study of Antiquities.
[m] The mh quiescent.
[n] Archæologia Cornu-Britan.
[o] Ogygia, p. iii. 280, &c.
[p] Norwegian Account of Haco's expedition.

year 1593, it is stated that Earl Bothwell was to be at Kelso, as the rumour went, "to exercise the runninge and speed of horses." In Uist, one of the Western Islands, Martin, who visited them at the close of the seventeenth century, informs us there were yearly horse races.

The Gauls used DOGS in war. Appian relates that a Celtic Ambassador's body guard was composed of these trusty animals. The Allobroges also kept numbers of them for this service. The Cimbrians having left their baggage in the charge of their dogs, they successfully defended it, after the defeat of the army.[q] The ferocity of the Celtic dogs rendered them by no means despicable auxiliaries. Those of the Britons were particularly esteemed, and great numbers were sent to Gaul, to be used in war, being much superior to the continental breed. I do not find that they were used by the Caledonians in battle, but they were kept for the purpose of giving notice of the enemy's approach.[r] The Scots' dogs were famous all over the world for their good qualities. The Romans imported great numbers from Britain, not indeed to recruit their armies, but for the purpose of hunting.[s]

FIRE ARMS were introduced to Scotland in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Barbour relates their first appearance, along with another new article, at the siege of Berwick, in 1338:

> "Twa noweltyes that day they saw,
> That forouth in Scotland had been nane;
> Tymmeris for helmys war the tane,
> The tothyr Crakys were of wer."[t]

Guns succeeded the ancient catapultæ, formerly termed gynes. The appellation was retained, the gyne became

[q] Pliny, viii. 40.

[r] Smith's Gall. Ant.

[s] See the "Cynegeticon" of Gratius Falisius, p. 74, &c. ed. 1728, for the excellence of dogs in war and the chace.

[t] The Bruce, B. xiv. 392.

gun, and the gynour the gunner. The Gaëlic gunna seems but a variation of guineach, an arrow, or dart, which is derived from guin, a sharp and sudden wound. The Highlanders seem never to have made much use of cannon, although some castles were provided with them, and the rebel army in 1745 had several pieces. Their firelocks were chiefly obtained from the continent, for the manufacture does not appear to have been encouraged among themselves. The guns of the old Highlanders were long, and of a peculiar construction, like that represented in the hand of the Gordon in the engraving, which is drawn from one of those taken in the last rebellions, and now preserved in the armoury of the Tower; where is to be seen that which belonged to the unfortunate Earl of Mar, curiously and richly ornamented with pearl, &c. It is of the time of James VI., and was originally a match-lock.

Of PISTOLS, the Highlanders have long had a peculiar and very beautiful manufacture.[u] They are formed entirely of metal, and differ in several respects from those of other nations, as may be seen in the engraving. Both were carried on the left side, one being suspended in the belt which secured the breacan, and the other in one fastened across the right shoulder, to which they were attached by means of a long slide, but many now erroneously carry one on the right side. The Highlanders were accustomed, after

[u] Piostal, seems a compound of pios, a piece, the Italian pezzo, Spanpieça, &c. Dag is also a common Gaëlic name for a pistol.

they had discharged their pistols, to throw them forcibly at the heads of the enemy, and it must be allowed that a blow from so hard a weapon would make no slight impression, but the policy of relinquishing either pistols or musquet, during an engagement, may well be questioned. The Gaël alleged that they were relieved of incumbrances, and that if they won the battle, they could easily regain their arms, and, if defeated, their loss was not of so much consequence, where their possession could only incommode them, and retard the speed of retreat. This reasoning, I am afraid, is not altogether satisfactory, but the practice was observed at Preston Pans, and at Falkirk, in 1745.

The manufacture of pistols was introduced in Doune, a village in Perthshire, about 1646, by Thomas Caddel, who had acquired the art at Muthil, a place in Strathern, from which he removed to Doune, where he settled. Caddel taught his children and apprentices, one of whom, called John Campbell, was a proficient in his trade; and his son and grandson carried on the business, successively, with great advantage. The last-named person, who retired from the concern, manufactured these pistols to the first nobility of Europe. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, the Duke of Cumberland, and others, provided themselves with these elegant articles. John Murdoch, who succeeded Campbell, carried on the manufacture with equal credit, and furnished his pistols to many of the nobility and gentry, but the demand was much reduced, and Doune has lost its former celebrity for the fabrication of Highland pistols, which, at one time, had a superior reputation in France, Germany, and other countries. A pair sold at from four to twenty-four guineas. A tradesman, who was taught in this celebrated school, fabricated a pair, superbly ornamented, which were pur-

chased by the magistrates of Glasgow, and presented to the Marquis de Boulle.[v]

Campbell and Murdoch's pistols are common; Shiel and Caddel's are less so; but all are of excellent manufacture. Many pistols bear the name of Bisell, and those in the Tower appear all of this person's work, which is plainer and less neat than the others. I have observed some of the Highland pattern, which bore the names of foreign artizans, as Petit Jean, Liege, &c. They are sometimes highly ornamented with silver, gold, and even precious stones, the owner's arms, crest, or motto, being usually engraved. The little knob between the scrolls is the top of the pricker, which is made to unscrew.

It is surprising that the pistols and shot pouch, so essential and elegant adjuncts to the costume, should not now appear in the dress of Highland officers. The policy of depriving them of these useful and ornamental appendages to their uniform, is not by any means apparent.

About seventy years ago, shooting at a mark was a favorite recreation of the Highlanders. It was much practised in Aberdeenshire, especially about Christmas, and it was the usual method for the decision of all raffles, or lotteries; but the disarming act brought these amusements to decay. The Highland Club of Edinburgh, which cherishes the sports and pastimes of the Gaël, has annual competitions in various athletic and manly exercises; and, at the last meeting, the first prize for rifle shooting was awarded to Cluny Mac Pherson, chief of Clan Chattan.

The Highlanders advanced to an attack with rapidity, and reserved their fire until within musquet length of the enemy, when they gave a general discharge, and threw them down. They then drew their swords, and, grasping

[v] Stat. Account, xx. 86

their target, darted with fury on their adversaries, and fought in the manner before described. They frequently used the dirk, also, in their left hand, in which case the target was borne on the wrist. An officer of great military experience, in 1745, suggested some means, practised by Count Munich against the Turks, to counteract the effect of the Celtic weapons and mode of attack, which he thought much superior to those of the regular troops.

On the passing of the disarming act, after 1715, the Highlanders were ordered to deliver up all their arms; but it was not difficult, in many cases, to evade the operation of the law. The loyal clans were allowed to retain arms to protect themselves from the rebels, who, when obliged to lay down their weapons, brought all those that were useless, and retained most of the serviceable part, which enabled them to take the field, in 1745. General Wade was appointed to receive the arms and submission of the disaffected, in 1724; and, as the Mac Kenzies had been most active in the rising of 1715, they were first called upon, and the inhabitants of eighteen parishes summoned. They expressed their willingness to submit to his Majesty, but requested that their surrender should not be in presence of any other clan, but to the King's troops only. Their desire was complied with, and they were also allowed to name the place where they chose to make their submission. Having selected Castle Brahan, the principal seat of their chief, the Marshal proceeded thither with 200 men, and was there met by the chieftains of the several tribes, who, with their followers, "marched in good order through the great avenue, and, one after another, laid down their arms in the court yard in great quiet and decency, amounting to 784 of the several species mentioned in the act." The number of weapons of all kinds collected during the year was 2685; 230 drovers, foresters, &c. being licensed to retain theirs.

In concluding this description of the Celtic weapons, some singular customs of the ancient Scots may be noticed. It was usual to exchange arms with guests for whom they entertained particular respect, or they did so as a testimony of sincere friendship, and a pledge of lasting peace. Those arms were long preserved, in the different families, as monuments of former transactions. "Nor forgot did my steps depart: the chiefs gave their shields to Carul; they hang in Col-amon in memory of the past." To tell one's name to an enemy, is said to have been deemed an evasion of combat, because, when it was known that friendship had formerly subsisted between their ancestors, the fight ceased. "I have been renowned in battle, but I never told my name to a foe. Yield to me, then shalt thou know that the mark of my sword is in many a field."

When a warrior became old, or unfit for the field, he fixed, with certain formalities, his armour in the hall or house; and this impressive period was called the time of fixing the arms. The last of a race resigned his arms to the tutelary guardians of his house. These weapons, with the spoils of war, formed the chief ornaments in the dwellings of the ancient Celts: they continued to grace the walls of castles in after ages, and are still displayed in the mansions of those who preserve the ancient and imposing style of decoration. The favorite weapons of the Celts were distinguished by appropriate appellations. The sword of Fingal was called "Mac an Luin," from its celebrated maker Luno. Others were denominated "the bird of prey," "the flame of the Druids," &c. This practice was common to the Northern nations; in Suhne's History of Denmark, the names of several famous swords are preserved.

The British tribes, at the period of the first Roman descent, appear to have been all more or less advanced beyond that state, in which mankind are but little superior

to the animals with whom they contend for the dominion of the woods, and whose destruction they pursue as a chief means of subsistence. Those who, either from choice or ignorance, neglected the cultivation of the fertile earth, were not likely to have made much advance in architecture, domestic or military.

In the most early state of society, a natural cave, or an artificial excavation, is a sufficient protection from the severity of climate, or the pursuit of enemies.[w] In mild weather, and in the security of peace, the savage beings repose and shelter themselves like the animals of the forest, on the verdant bank, or beneath the umbrage of the leafy grove.

When mankind begin to domesticate the wild herds, their condition becomes greatly meliorated. In those primitive ages, the cattle and their owners partake of nearly the same accommodation, but the flocks—their only riches and means of subsistence—are guarded with the utmost solicitude, and in times of danger are protected with the most anxious care. For this purpose, fortifications or strongholds are constructed, sufficiently large to receive the whole tribe, and the cattle, when threatened with danger.

The acquisition of the riches of numerous flocks leads to the division of land, and induces the settlement of a tribe in one place, which is, in some measure, restrained from roaming, by the opposition of others, jealous of encroachment on their territories. This early association soon begins to cultivate a portion of the ground, and hence arises a stronger attachment to one position, and a greater necessity for securing the additional property that may be acquired, which offers so strong a temptation for the attacks of less fortunate, or more ferocious tribes. Thus, in the most early ages, arise those places of strength, which

[w] Some barrows, or cairns, in Scotland, having been found to contain skeletons in an upright posture, they are supposed to have been hiding places for individuals.

are the towns of a rude people. Before the epoch of Christianity, the Southern inhabitants of Britain were in this state of civilization, and, about a century afterwards, the Northern clans were found in nearly the same condition.

From the commentaries of Cæsar, it has been inferred, that there were no towns in this island when he visited it; and from the words of Tacitus, who says that the Germans did not live in cities, but settled just as a field or a fountain might invite, it is supposed that that people were equally destitute of towns. The Celtic race were not, indeed, partial to a residence within walls, but they were sufficiently careful to construct many fortifications which received the name of cities, and, from their strength and magnitude, deserved the appellation. Josephus says, there were twelve hundred cities in Gaul;[x] and Ptolemy enumerates ninety in Germany. The Semnones inhabited one hundred towns, the Suessiones had twelve, and the Nervii had as many.[y] In Spain, were three hundred and sixty;[z] and at the period of the first settlement of the Romans in Britain, its Celtic tribes, in England and Wales, possessed upwards of a hundred.[a] Dio Nicæus, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, says, neither the Caledonians nor Meats had towns, or walled forts. They may not, in his meaning; but Tacitus informs us, that beyond the Forth were "amplas civitates." There is every reason to believe, that, even among the rudest of the Caledonians, there were many of those strengths which, in other places, have been dignified with the name of cities. The Celts, who constructed their forts as places of retreat, were not likely to discover them to enemies, whom they always endeavoured to meet in the open field; and it is to this principle that we must ascribe Cæsar's ignorance of those

x By the Notitia Imperii, there were only 115. Gibbon, i. c. i.
y Bello Gall. ii. 3. z Pliny. a Whitaker.

astonishing places, which were undoubtedly in existence previous to his arrival in the island. "What the Britons call a town," says this accomplished writer, "is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a vallum and ditch, for the security of themselves and cattle, against the incursions of an enemy; for, when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves and hovels for their cattle." In this description, he is less satisfactory than on other occasions; for it gives no just idea of those places. Some were, no doubt, of a rude construction, from having been formed in haste, or for temporary occupation; in which cases, the thick forests afforded a ready and well-adapted means of raising a strong barrier of prostrate trees with an accompanying ditch; but the Celtic fort was a work of regular and judicious design, and must have been executed with prodigious labour.

The Nervii protected themselves from the attacks of the Roman cavalry by a fence of young trees, bent, and interlaced with brambles and thorns. These continuing to grow, and the breadth of the whole being considerable, it was a fortification which could not by any means be entered, or even looked into.[b] We find Ambiorix, when unexpectedly attacked, taking refuge in an edifice environed with wood, which, says the same intelligent writer, was the case with most of the dwellings of the Gauls, who, in order to avoid the heat, resorted to the neighbourhood of woods and rivers: hence the Romans carefully avoided the forests, where they suffered so much from ambuscades.[c]

The Celtic towns were sometimes placed on peninsulas, or constructed in marshes, difficult of access; but the favorite positions were the summits of precipitous elevations, where the natural strength was increased by ditches and

[b] Bello Gall. ii. c. 17. [c] Polybius iii.

ramparts, sometimes of astonishing magnitude; and, notwithstanding Cæsar's sarcastic remark, the British and Gallic fortresses resisted the continued assaults of the Roman troops—the best soldiers in the world; and, although these places were rude and incommodious, compared with the elegant cities of Italy and Greece, yet the conquerors themselves repeatedly acknowledged that they were excellent fortifications. The Britons, according to Dio, either inhabited the tops of barren mountains, or resided in plains, rendered secure by surrounding marshes. These last do not retain much visible marks of ancient inhabitation:[d] the vestigia of Celtic castrametation are most conspicuous on the summits of hills, where nature assisted the labours of the architect and engineer. In the formation of these entrenchments, the plan generally coincided with the figure of the hill, and hence the form was usually circular or oblong. Sometimes there were several ditches, or embankments, that increased in number and strength where the sides were naturally weakest; and the area has frequently one or more divisions, which are reasonably presumed to have been intended for the separate reception of the cattle and inhabitants. The Celtic towns were not protected by wooden ramparts only, nor did they occupy a small spot of ground. Alesia and Gergovia are represented as surrounded with walls of great strength, that appear to have been erected about mid-hill, six feet in height, and composed of great stones.[e]

It being in contemplation among the Gauls to burn Avaricum, the Bituriges fell on their knees, praying that they should not be compelled, with their own hands, to set fire to a city, the most beautiful nearly of all Gaul,

[d] Ambresbury banks, in Essex, are the remains of a Lowland town. Gough's Camden, ii. p. 49.

[e] Bello Gall. vii. 43.

and equally an ornament and protection to the state. They represented that, from the nature of the place, it could be easily defended, being surrounded on all sides by a river and marsh, except where there was but one very narrow entrance. After much discussion, their petition was granted, and proper persons were appointed to conduct the defence of the place.[f]

In Britain, the valla[g] are most commonly of earthwork: sometimes they are composed of stones, piled up without mortar; and sometimes there is a mixture of both. The renowned Caractacus, or Caradoc, we are told, reared huge ramparts of stone around his camp. In Scotland, where this material is plentiful, the walls of the ancient forts are most commonly built of it. There is sometimes only one entrance; more frequently there are two; and not seldom, several are observed; all contrived with much art, being rendered secure by traverses.

The Herefordshire Beacon, situated on one of the highest of the Malvern hills, is a remarkable specimen of a British hill fort. A steep and lofty vallum of earth and stones, with a wide and deep ditch on the outside, inclose an irregular oblong space of 175 feet by 110. Attached to the principal area are two outworks, lower down the hill, evidently adapted for the reception of cattle, horses, or chariots, and several banks and ditches guard the acclivity of the hill. In King's Munimenta Antiqua, Stukely's Itinerarium Curiosum, and Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, will be found extended notices, with views of various British towns and earthworks. In Scotland, the two Catherthuns in Angus, Barra hill, Aberdeenshire, and many others, are singular monuments of the skill of the Caledonians, in fortifying the summits of elevated hills,

[f] Bello Gall. vii. 14.

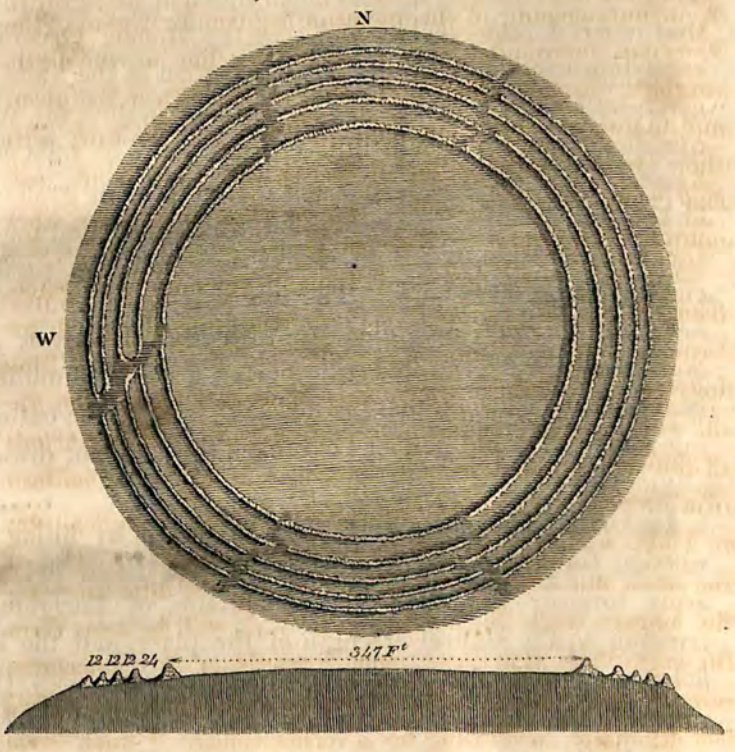
[g] Balla, Gaëlic, a wall.

with formidable earth-works. The magnitude of these valla excites astonishment, and we wonder by what means they were raised. The labour of forming works so vast, in those rude ages, must have been great, and could only be accomplished by the united exertions of whole tribes. A curious account of the operation is given by Cæsar. The Nervians surrounded their camp, with a line of which the rampart was eleven feet high, and the foss fifteen feet deep, and having no other implements, they cut the turf with their swords, and digging the earth with their hands, carried it away in their cloaks. In less than three hours, they completed a circuit of fifteen miles![h]

On a hill, in the parish of Echt, in the county of Aberdeen, is a well preserved fastness, the walls of which are formed of stone, without the addition of any cement. This fortress is called the Barmekin, a term derived from the old word, barme, or bawn, a bank or wall, for the purpose of defence, applied, in many instances, to the outer ballium of a fortress. The term is used by Gawin Douglas, and in 1509, a charter, given to John Grant, of Freuchie, of the lands and fortalice of Urquhart, enjoins him to "big the houses with Barmekin walls."[i] It will be seen, from the engraving, that these remains consist of five concentric ramparts and intermediate ditches, inclosing an area of 347 feet diameter, according to a measurement I took some years ago. The inner wall is the most perfect, and is about five feet high, and ten or twelve thick at the base. The others appear to have been of nearly similar dimensions, and the exterior was formed with large flat stones, pitched edgewise, in manner of a casing, to strengthen and secure the smaller ones in the body of the wall. Large stones are also observable on each side the openings, by which access

[h] Bello Gall. v. c. 34. [i] Harl. MS. 4134.

was obtained to the interior, and which are six or eight feet wide. Extended lines, the remains of walls, run a considerable way towards the north, accompanied by tumuli, and the vestigia of stone circles.



In Ireland similar remains are found. On the top of Gauir Conrigh, a high mountain near Tralee, is a circular inclosure of stones, piled on each other, some of which measure ten cubical feet, and the hill being very steep, it is matter of wonder how they could have been conveyed to their elevated situation.

In Gaul, the art of fortification was well understood. The Celtæ, when they contended for their liberties with the Romans, were not always actuated by that feeling

which leads a rude and gallant people to despise artificial protection, and prefer contention in the open plain. In Gaul, were numerous towns, constructed as in Britain, on the summits of the steepest and most inaccessible heights, and they were formed with so much care and strength, that they seemed impregnable, and cost the Roman Generals exceeding trouble to reduce. A description of the walls is given by Cæsar, who does not hesitate to bestow his unqualified praise on their skilful erection. "The valla are formed," says he, "of long beams driven into the ground, at two feet distance from each other, which are bound together in the inside with stout planks, and farther strengthened by an earthern bank. The intervals on the outside, or face of the wall, are filled up with several courses of large stones, well cemented with mortar, a way of building beautiful and efficient, that resisted both fire and the battering ram, and could neither be broken through nor drawn asunder."[k]

In Celtiberia were a sort of walls reared by filling a wooden frame with earth or clay.[l] When Cæsar led his army towards the Alps, the inhabitants of Larignum, trusting to the natural strength of the place, and the efficiency of their fortifications, refused to surrender; the emperor, therefore, ordered it to be assaulted, and, after an obstinate defence, the city was finally reduced. That which the inhabitants chiefly relied on, when they resolved to resist the Roman arms, was a tower, said to have been erected before the gate of the castle, and constructed of alternate beams, raised in manner of a pyre, and carried so high that it commanded the whole place. From this tower stakes, stones, and other missiles, were unremittingly hurled on the besiegers, who, on their part, strenuously

[k] Bello Gall. vii. c. 12. [l] Pliny, xxxv. 14.

endeavoured to set it on fire. This mode of attack having no effect, it was stormed; when they learned that the fort was built of certain trees, very difficult to be burned, that grew plentifully in the neighbourhood, and were called larigna, from which the place received its name.[m]

Those singular remains, known in Scotland by the name of Duns, are curious monuments of the skill of the ancient inhabitants in military architecture. I do not here confine myself to those round towers of admirable structure, distinguished by this appellation, which, although undoubtedly erected as places of defence, will more appropriately be described in the following Chapter. The vestigia of the aboriginal fortresses are called Raths by the Irish, and both terms anciently denoted a precipitous elevation, the natural site of Celtic strongholds. In like manner, the Latin arx signified both the top of a hill and a castle; and ban, that denoted a wall for defence, is still applied by the native Irish to a mount.

The term dun, originally applied to the site of a fastness of whatever construction, was given to those astonishing works peculiar to Scotland, and distinguished by their formation from all others.

The VITRIFIED FORTS have excited a great degree of curiosity, and must continue to be objects of wonder, from their magnitude and singular construction. The dry stone walls of the original hill fort were, by a process of vitrification, rendered a mass of impregnable rock; but the means used to effect this change, can only be guessed at. These forts appear to have been first noticed, in a scientific manner, by John Williams, mineral surveyor, in 1771, since which time various essays have appeared, in different publications, with a view to determine the manner by which the singular appearance of these remains was pro-

[m] Vitruvius Archit. ii. c. 9.

duced. The walls, or masses of rampart, consist of stones, of various sizes, that have been at one time in a state of semi-fusion, and are consequently so very hard, that it is necessary to use force to detach any part. This mode of building, which seems confined to Scotland, is so different from all others, that it could not fail to engage the attention of antiquaries; and the difficulty of accounting for the formation of these walls, led many to believe them produced by lightning, while some have considered them the craters of exhausted volcanoes;[n] and others have concluded that they were vitrified by accidental conflagration.[o] It seems agreed that the people who raised these works, were ignorant of the use of lime or other cement; and it is not improbable, that accidental conflagration may have at first given the hint for so peculiar a mode of architecture; but whether a process like the burning of kelp, or the addition of any particular substance to the part exposed to the heat, produced the fusion of the mass, is not known. It has been conjectured, that vast defences of wood may have surrounded the ramparts by the casual burning of which they were vitrified; but this supposition is as objectionable as others, even although, in some instances, the walls may have been exposed to the heat on one side only. In no buildings that have been destroyed by fire, are effects observable at all similar to these vitrifications.

A letter appeared in the Edinburgh Magazine, for September, 1787, written, as Pinkerton tells us he was informed, by the learned George Dempster, on the authority of Gordon's MS. History of the Sutherland Family, which Sir Robert Sibbald seems to have seen,[p] and its

[n] Phil. Trans. 1777, Part ii. No. 20. Robert Riddel, Esq. F.S.A. Archæo. x. 100. Hon. Daines Barrington. Ibid. vi. 101.

[o] Chalmers in "Caledonia." Titler in Phil. Trans. Edin.

[p] Vera Scot. Descript. MS. in Lib. Advoc. Edin.

tendency is to reduce the supposed antiquity of these forts by many ages. It is there said that Dun Criech, in Sutherland, was built by one Paul Mac Tyre, between 1275 and 1297, a hero whose history is allowed, even by the writer, to savour more of fable than reality, the stories concerning him being believed only "amongst the vulgar people." He is said to have used a "kynd of hard mortar." It would be more satisfactory were it proved that he had any hand in its erection.

The Castle of Dun'a deer, in the district of Gariach, Aberdeenshire, is a curious vestige of vitrification. Dr. Anderson, who bestowed considerable attention to the investigation of these remains, says the masses in this Dun are the firmest he had ever met with. He accompanies a long and minute description with accurate plans and views,[a] adhering to the belief that vitrifications were produced by artificial process. The opinion that this ruin, and the more wonderful ramparts on the summit of Noth, several miles westward, are volcanic remains, is scarcely entitled to notice. The rock, on which Dun'a deer stands, is a sort of slate which, I believe, is never found in decayed craters. The ruins cover the summit of a beautiful green hill, and formerly consisted of a double court of building, inclosed by a massy rampart and two wide trenches, strengthened with additional works where naturally weakest. These latter parts are now very imperceptible; but forty-two feet of the western wall, in the interior building, is about thirty feet high, and ten or twelve thick. So complete a fragment induces Dr. Anderson to think that the upper part was built on the site of a more ancient structure; yet, from personal observation, I am inclined to believe that all the walls are of equal antiquity. A heat, sufficient to vitrify

[a] Archæo. and The Bee, Vols. ix. and x.

the base of the walls, might not affect the upper part in a similar way; but if it was a later erection, it is difficult to account for the appearance; for the building is square, a form, I believe, unknown in any other vitrification; in some parts, also, we perceive ashler work, and portions of other good masonry. If this building was submitted to the above process, it is, perhaps, one of the latest instances: Dun'a deer was a royal residence, and it is a historic fact, that Gregory the Great died here in 892.

The following extracts from Dr. Anderson's communication to the Society of Antiquaries, in 1777, respecting these most remarkable of all Scotish Antiquities, will be found interesting; but his curious theory is not quite satisfactory.

The first fortification of this kind, which he examined, is situated on the top of a steep hill, called Knockferrel, two miles west of Dingwall, in Ross-shire; and, as he observes, an idea of others may be formed from a description of this one: it is, in most respects, applicable to that of Noth. The fort is placed on the ridge of an oblong shaped hill, very steep on three sides, the walls being raised on the edge of a precipice all round, except the end where you can enter the area; the inclosed space of nearly an acre being almost level. It is to be observed, that, in all these forts, the places where it is possible to approach the walls, are strengthened by additional lines of rampart, and here both ends had been so guarded. "Those at the entry," says the doctor, "had extended, as I guessed, about one hundred yards, and seem to have consisted of cross walls, one behind another, eight or ten in number; the ruins of which are still plainly perceptible. Through each of these walls there must have been a gate, so that the besiegers would have been under the necessity of forcing each of these gates successively before they could carry the fort: on the oppo-

site end of the hill, as the ground is considerably steeper, the outworks seem not to have extended above twenty yards. Not far from the further end was a well now filled up. The wall, all round from the inside, appears to be only a mound of rubbish, consisting of loose stones;—the vitrified wall is only to be seen on the outside. It appears, at first sight, surprising, that a rude people should have been capable of discovering a cement of such a singular kind as this is; but it is no difficult matter, for one who is acquainted with the nature of the country where these structures abound, to give a very probable account of the manner in which this art has been originally discovered, and of the causes that have occasioned the knowledge of it to be lost. Through all the Northern parts of Scotland, a particular kind of earthy iron ore, of a very vitrescible nature, much abounds. This ore might have been accidentally mixed with some stones at a place where a great fire was kindled, and, being fused by the heat, would cement the stones into one solid mass, and give the first hint of the uses to which it might be applied.—The wall of Knockferrel all round is covered on the outside with a crust of about two feet in thickness, consisting of stones immersed among vitrified matter: some of the stones being half fused themselves—all of them having evidently suffered a considerable heat. The crust is of an equal thickness of about two feet, from the top to the bottom, so as to lie upon, and be supported by, a backing of loose stones, forming, in section, an acute angle. Within the crust of vitrified matter, is another stratum, of some thickness, parallel to the former, which consists of loose stones, which have been scorched by the fire, but discover no marks of fusion." The doctor believes, that the wall being raised, and the interstices filled full of the vitrescible ore, "nothing more was necessary to give it the entire finishing, but to kindle a

fire all round it sufficiently intense to melt the ore, and thus to cement the whole into one coherent mass, as far as the influence of the heat extended."

By whatever process the walls were thus strengthened, all these works are, in every respect, except the vitrification, similar to other hill forts; both are situated on eminences, both have the usual appendages of wells, circles, tumuli, roads, &c., and both have ramparts formed of stone, without cement.

In the elaborate work of Mr. King, various castles in England, of unknown antiquity, are asserted to be the work of ages long anterior to the Saxon invasion. This writer indulges his favorite hypothesis in assigning several of these structures "to Phœnician settlers, or some other foreigners from the east," but he allows that the Britons may have also erected them. The instances which he adduces are unlike all castellations of the Romans, or any other known invaders of this island; and we may safely believe that they were constructed by the Celtic inhabitants while they retained their independence. These buildings are generally situated in secluded parts of the country, on elevations difficult of access, and it may be consequently presumed, that they would long escape the destructive assaults of the sordid spoliator. To demolish bulwarks so solid and massy, would have been a work of labour equal to that of their erection. In assigning any building to the early Britons, it must indeed be observed that no positive demonstration of the fact can be given, nor any certain date ascribed to a ruin, yet the peculiar style of these castellations, different from all the varieties adopted in known periods, gives them a reasonable claim to high antiquity.

Before dismissing the subject of the military erections of the Southern Celts, it may be desirable to describe

some of those castellated remains that are supposed to be of British origin, but are of unknown date. Of these, Launceston castle, in Cornwall, described in the Beauties for that county, is a curious example. On the top of a conical hill of great height, is a round keep or tower, the walls of which are ten feet in thickness, while the clear area does not exceed eighteen feet and a half in diameter. This tower is surrounded by three concentric walls of stone, a fourth having been carried round the base of the rock on which the castle is placed. The erection of this edifice must have been attended with much laborious exertion.

Castell Corndochon, situated on the summit of a high rock, near Snowdon, and some remains at Caerleon, in Wales, are attributed by Mr. King to British attempts, in imitation of Roman architecture; and Carn-bre in Cornwall, is supposed to have been erected by the natives before the conquerors had finally evacuated the island. Brynllys castle, in the county of Brecknock, being situated in a district which does not afford a rocky elevation like that on which Launceston is planted, is built of peculiar strength, its base assuming the appearance of an artificial mount of stone. It is to be observed, that in most of the ancient castellated buildings throughout England and Wales, innovations have been made by successive occupiers, which the architectural critic can easily distinguish from the original work. A perusal of the "Introduction to the Beauties of England and Wales," or the study of Mr. Britton's works on English architecture, will enable any one to discriminate the styles that prevailed in different ages.

The vast entrenchments which the Celts threw up, and the massy walls which they reared in places the most difficult of access, which still remain the wonderful monuments of their skill and labour, attest the care which they be-

stowed on the construction of strongholds, capable of resisting the assaults of an enemy. These people had, indeed, an aversion to a residence in towns, yet were they not inattentive to their utility, and sometimes, by necessity, they were compelled to retire to them, where they defended themselves by various means, with desperate resolution, raising walls, towers, galleries, and other works, which struck their enemies with admiration. When besieged in the city of Avaricum, or Bourges, where the Romans assaulted them with incredible bravery, they behaved with a resolution and activity that long baffled the attempts of their enemies. With long ropes they turned aside the hooks of the besiegers, and when they caught them, they drew them into the town by means of engines. They also endeavoured to undermine the mount which was raised against the walls, and by various contrivances and incessant exertions, rendered the efforts of the Romans ineffectual. They raised towers on all parts of their ramparts, and covered them very carefully with raw hides, to prevent their combustion; and, continuing their sallies, day and night, they either set fire to the mount, or fell on the workmen and put them to flight. As the Roman towers increased in height, so they diligently raised those on the walls —continually adding one story after another, to prevent being overtopped. They also counterworked the mines; sometimes filling them up with large stones, sometimes pouring scalding pitch on the miners, or attacking them with long stakes burned and sharpened at the ends.[r] Cæsar observes, that, from working in their mines, they were very dexterous in sapping and overthrowing the mounts and towers which were raised against them. With that ingenuity and aptitude to learn, by which they were characterized, they soon imitated the Romans, and began

[r] Bello Gall. ii.

to understand this part of military tactics. In the time of Vitellius, says Tacitus, the Germans used the battering ram, an expedient altogether new to them, but a people who could fortify their towns with such admirable art, were not likely to be altogether deficient in the practice of assaulting them. The Celtæ and Belgæ, we learn from Cæsar, used the same methods in attacking a town; they surrounded the walls, and never ceased throwing stones by means of their numerous slingers, until they had swept the besieged off the walls; when, casting themselves into a testudo, they approached the gate. The Caledonians had long hooks wherewith they dragged the unhappy soldiers from the wall of Severus. When the Gauls, under Ambiorix, attacked Cicero's camp, they threw hot clay bullets and heated darts among the Romans.

Notwithstanding the remains of so many entrenchments, constructed with amazing strength, and dispersed all over the island, it is certain that the Celtæ placed more dependence on their personal valour than the strength of ramparts. Towns were objects of aversion with these people, as places of permanent residence; but the safety of their wives and their children, and the security of their flocks, required fortifications. In these retreats, the warriors must have spent the time, which was not occupied in war, or hunting, along with their families, and deposited the property which they possessed; but society was too barbarous for a settled life, and when their territories were invaded, the warriors marched out with alacrity to repel the aggression. It was an unfortunate circumstance, if surprised in their retreats; and, to prevent this, they used every precaution. "They avoided the towns as dens and places beset with nets and toils,"[1] conceiving, that, to trust for safety in the defence of

[1] Amm. Mar. xvi. 1.

fortifications, was inimical to personal valour, and injurious to warlike renown. When the Tencteri sent ambassadors to the people of Cologne, exhorting them to resume their ancient manners, from which the Romans had induced them to depart, "Demolish the walls of your city, these ramparts of your servitude," say they; "for even beasts, that are naturally wild and savage, if confined, are brought to forget their boldness and vigour."[t] In a general council of Gauls, it was determined to destroy their towns, and in one day more than twenty of those in the state of the Bituriges were burned.[u] The use of machines, without which places of strength cannot be attacked, or well defended, increases in proportion to the declension of personal valour, of which the Romans furnish a striking example. The Celts despised these means of conquest, although they had sufficient ingenuity to construct them. The Muc of the Gaël was like the Pluteus; it was moved on three wheels, and was covered with twigs, hair cloth, and raw hides.

As the Celts, however, disliked standing a siege, so they had no great inclination, and seldom much success, in attacking a city. On one occasion, they closely invested Agrippina, in which the Emperor Julian lay, with only a few troops; but this part of the science of war required more time than their impatience would allow, and, after thirty days, they retired, "muttering quietly among themselves the regret, that vainly and foolishly they had ever thought of besieging the city."[v] The army of the heroic Bonduica studiously avoided attacking the Roman forts.

The Duns in Scotland were generally constructed within sight of each other, that an intimation of danger might be speedily conveyed throughout the country. The signal was fire, which was also kindled on cairns, or heaps of stones

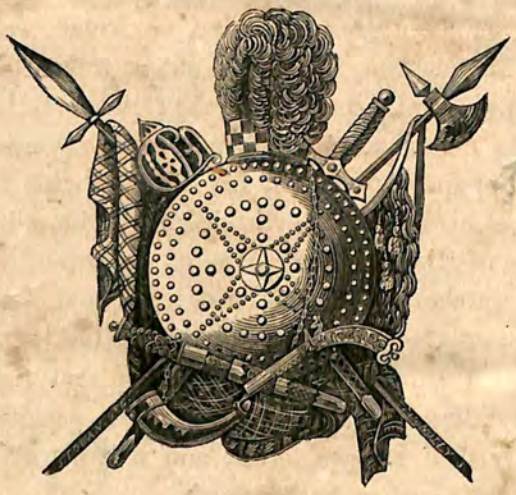
[t] Tac. Annals, iv. [u] Bello Gall. vii. 14. [v] Amm. Mar. xvi.

raised on eminences for that purpose. According to Irish chronicles, certain persons were appointed to attend to these fires, that were also lighted for the guidance of mariners. Martin speaks of numerous cairns in the Isles, on which the "warning flame" was raised by burning heath, a sentinel being stationed at each, to give notice of invasion or other danger; and the steward of the Isles made frequent rounds to inspect these stations. If he found any of the watchmen asleep, he stripped them of their clothes; but their personal punishment was the prerogative of the chief.

In the Duns, a sentinel, called Gockman, was placed, says Dr. Macpherson, who called out at intervals to shew his vigilance; and, according to the Celtic practice, he was obliged to deliver all his information in rhymes: a large horn, full of spirits, stood by his side, probably for the inspiration of his muse. Martin describes Mac Niel's castle, in the isle of Kismul, near Barra, on the top of which one of these watchmen was stationed night and day. There was, besides, a constable who executed his trust so faithfully, that Martin could not, by any intreaty, gain access to the building. These men had their perquisites very punctually paid at two terms, and it is not above a century since the custom was disused.

Thus much it has been thought proper to say in this place of the Celtic methods of constructing their strongholds. The arts of castrametation and architecture are so closely allied in that state of society in which the Celts so long remained, that it was impossible intirely to disjoin them in the foregoing notices. With a rude, martial, and unsettled people, architecture can make but slow advances, and its origin is the effort of untutored man, to defend himself from the rage of his enemies. The Celts fortified the summits of precipitous elevations by earth works, by rude stone walls and wooden ramparts, before they were able to

raise the skilfully-constructed walls which surrounded the towns of Gaul and Britain. The Gaël piled up a bulwark of rough stones, before they could form the vitrifications and circular duns which so powerfully excite our admiration, and they exerted their architectural skill as military engineers, and for the general welfare, before it was employed for domestic purposes or personal comfort.



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